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15 February 1985

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

GCC DOCUMENT OUTLINES PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT GOALS

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 89, 22-28 Dec 84 pp 31-32

[Article by Salih Zaytun: "AL-TADAMUN Obtains An Important Gulf Document On the Gulf Planning and Development Strategy"]

[Text] AL-TADAMUN has obtained a copy of the Gulf planning and development strategy proposal submitted to the GCC states at the recent Kuwait summit. It will be discussed further during the planning ministers' upcoming meetings, and a final vote will be taken at the 1985 Muscat summit.

This strategy establishes goals for the development plans, and outlines the policies which will achieve these goals in various areas of development, all of which was discussed in detail at the recent Gulf planning ministers' meeting in Riyadh, which was chaired by Qatar Minister of Finance and Petroleum Shaykh 'Abd-al-'Aziz bin Khalifah Al Thani. Here are some excerpts from this strategy.

The general goals of the GCC countries' development plans and programs are to be determined in accordance with the GCC charter, which centers on the preservation of Islamic values, the Arab identity, and its original traditions, and on the free economy's fundamental reliance on development, and which emphasizes the importance of achieving social homogeneity, defending the religion and the homeland, ensuring domestic security and stability, and continuing the development process. This includes the following aspects:

1. socially, educationally and hygenically developing and preparing the citizens so that they can keep up with the demands of modern development;
2. achieving positive interaction between intellectual activity and education on a human scale, so that the people will be capable of modern thought which harmonizes with the teachings of the Islamic religion and guarantees the preservation of the Arab identity;
3. developing manpower through education and training, providing and maintaining a suitable healthy environment, and improving public health;

4. achieving population equilibrium in those GCC countries which suffer from an unbalanced demography;
5. achieving such social well-being as will ensure each citizen a minimum decent standard of living in accordance with the resources of each state. Any gains over and above this minimum which result from the individual's efforts and achievements will be that individual's due;
6. stressing social solidarity and union among the GCC's societies;
7. concentrating on qualitative development and on improving and developing established utilities and infrastructures;
8. preserving the natural ecological balance during construction of development programs;
9. stressing the importance of individual enterprise, the private sector's role in the development process, and the government's role in guiding and encouraging this sector in such a way as to give it stability, efficiency and the ability to grow and respond to the demands of development;
10. coordinating and integrating various vital areas of concern to the societies of the GCC countries, which would realize their hopes for a better future and which would lead to unifying their countries;
11. developing all economic resources, exploiting natural resources, especially petroleum, to the optimum, and protecting exhaustible resources for as long as possible;
12. diversifying sources of productivity by developing industry, agriculture, mining, services, and other sectors;
13. creating an indigenous infrastructure for research, applied sciences, and technology;
14. completing the infrastructure needed to achieve these general goals, and coordinating the activities of the member states in this area;
15. reducing obvious differences in the levels of development in different GCC countries.

The Policies

The GCC states are trying to formulate policies which will achieve the afore-mentioned goals of their development plans.

A. Manpower Development: The GCC states' adoption of the necessary manpower development policies must reconcile the challenges faced by the GCC countries with the development plans to be embraced. This requires the following:

1. instituting compulsory elementary and intermediate (preparatory) education for boys and girls;
2. requiring a certain grade percentage at each level after intermediate, in order to guarantee sufficient preparation for technical and professional education;
3. re-evaluating university programs and curricula, and especially admissions policies;
4. opening up suitable fields of work for women, so that they can participate in the development process.

B. Social Development: The following social development policies need to be adopted by the GCC states:

1. adjusting population imbalance in those GCC states which suffer from it, by reducing and limiting the percentage of non-citizens in those societies to levels which meet economic needs, as defined by each state;
2. alerting the Gulf societies' members to the goals and demands of development and how to deal with it;
3. showing greater concern for the handicapped, and introducing national rehabilitation and welfare programs for them;
4. developing child care potentials in all areas and on all levels;
5. possible introduction by each state, according to its circumstances, of a system for service to the flag;
6. possible introduction by each state, according to its circumstances, of a military training system in the secondary schools;
7. expanding literacy and adult education programs in order to eliminate illiteracy;

C. Economic Development: The economic development policies which need to be adopted should ensure that all socio-economic factors are taken into consideration when making investment and expenditure decisions, and that an equilibrium is achieved between the production and the services sectors, through the following means:

1. developing natural resources which have future economic potentials--for example, seeking out, locating and developing mineral and marine resources, and exploiting and processing the abundant natural gas to the maximum whenever economically feasible;
2. making water a basic, important criterion in estimating the economic feasibility of state projects;

3. horizontally and vertically expanding petrochemical industries and gas-oil separation plants whenever economically feasible;
4. increasing petroleum refining capacities to the maximum, provided it is economically feasible;
5. reducing production costs for services and public utilities, improving them, and offering guidance on how to use them;
6. reducing the excessive use of services and public utilities in some areas, such as limiting the amounts used in construction and manufacturing projects;
7. utilizing technology in all public services through the use of automation and advanced, economically feasible methods;
8. concentrating on technological methods which meet the particular needs of the national economy, such as automation, the use of brackish water for irrigation, and other methods;
9. determining a project's economic feasibility from the standpoint of operating, maintenance, administration and repair costs, and not just construction costs;
10. encouraging and urging the citizens to invest in economically advantageous industries which rely on local energy and raw materials and which use production methods which require a minimum of manpower and consume the smallest possible amount of critical resources such as water.

D. Private sector development: A policy allowing the private sector greater participation in all areas of the state economy and encouraging positive interaction with government policies should be adopted; such a policy might consist of the following:

1. continuing to give the private sector opportunities to set up, manage, maintain and repair some of the utilities which the state is managing;
2. providing opportunities for investment in, and joint ownership and management of, some of the industries which the state is establishing;
3. reviewing and updating some state regulations and methods, so as to allow the private sector greater freedom and flexibility and to help it become more innovative and advanced;
4. encouraging cooperative societies and national charitable and commercial organizations, if they exist, to establish economic and social projects deemed appropriate by the state;
5. urging the commercial banks and other financial organizations to increase their credit facilities for production projects;

6. encouraging the establishment of more joint-stock companies which invest in large projects, which will give these projects better economic bases and will allow more citizens to benefit from investment operations;

7. creating a government-supervised means of circulating company shares, so as to encourage investment and eliminate the risks of financial speculation;

8. bringing the private sector into the process of designing and launching training programs.

E. Integration policies should be developed and supported by specialized ministerial committess, through the following measures:

1. drawing up the regulations, administrative policies and guidelines needed to achieve integration;

2. linking the GCC states' infrastructure projects, by facilitating coordination and integration whenever possible;

3. establishing joint production projects among some or all the member states;

4. unifying the GCC countries' stands towards the outside world in various areas whenever possible;

5. formulating policies and programs aimed at guaranteeing food security for the citizens of the GCC states.

It was agreed that each member state would set up its priorities according to its own needs and abilities.

Observations

During discussion of the goals of the GCC states' development plans, the following observations were made.

1. The delegation from the Sultanate of Oman preferred that the draft of the introduction read as follows: "The general goals of the GCC countries' development plans and programs are to be determined in accordance with the GCC charter, which centers on the preservation of Islamic values, the Arab identity, and the original traditions of the member states and on the free economy's fundamental reliance on development, and which emphasizes the importance of achieving social homogeneity. In this context and in accordance with these concepts, the development process should include the following..."

2. With reference to Paragraph 5, the Omani delegation preferred the following wording: "achieving such social well-being as will ensure the citizens an advanced standard of living which will give them a decent living, whereby each citizen can enjoy the fruits of his efforts and achievements."

During discussion of policies, the following observations were made.

1. The Sultanate's delegation preferred that Paragraph 4 of Section A, Manpower Development, read as follows: "opening fields of work to women so that they can participate in the nation's growth and development, in accordance with the circumstances and traditions of each society."
2. The Omani delegation preferred that Paragraph 10 of Section B, Social Development, read as follows: "improving the individual's ability to increase his income and raise his standard of living in order to achieve the goals of social development."
3. The Sultanate's delegation preferred that Paragraph 4 of Section D, Private Sector Development, read as follows: "encouraging cooperative societies, if they exist, and national charitable and commercial organizations to operate sanitoriums, hospitals, and private clinics, and construct charitable institutions, resort areas and recreation centers."

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

RESULTS OF GCC SUMMIT EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 253, 15-21 Dec 84 pp 42-45

[Text] The activities of foreign monitoring mechanisms and diplomatic observers increased noticeably in the Gulf capitals in the days that followed the closing of the fifth summit meeting of leaders of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states held in Kuwait recently. It was clear that this intense diplomatic activity was aimed at uncovering the secrets and behind-the-scenes activities of the conference which received a wide range of press and political attention. This activity was also an attempt to explain the results of this important meeting between the leaders of the Gulf states, especially the secret results which Bahraini Foreign Minister Shaykh Muhammad bin Mubarak Al Khalifah acknowledged had been achieved by these leaders and not yet announced. Still, the movements inside the conference and the information that has leaked up to now along with the analyses of Western diplomats are unanimous in indicating that the fifth summit of the leaders of the GCC states was an extremely important transition between two periods: the period of military and security defense and the period of political and military attack against terrorism centers and threats to these Gulf states' security, sovereignty, land and strategic facilities, including oil tankers and commercial ships.

In the view of these Western diplomatic circles it appears that this strategic transition has assumed a number of practical and tactical dimensions, which were embodied in specific military, security and political formulations. These were agreed upon unanimously, although some of the plans are still in the form of principles. The Saudi monarch, King Fahd bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz referred to these when he said, "The meeting of the supreme council in its fifth running represents one of the important stages of cooperation and coordination that will strengthen the progress of the council toward broader horizons of integration and homogeneity and toward achievement of a life of prosperity and stability for our people." He affirmed the goals and aspirations of the GCC countries to fulfill their responsibilities toward their Arab nation.

The Saudi monarch outlined the bases of military cooperation among the GCC states when he said, "The goals of defense coordination among our countries are summed up in strengthening the principle of the integrated collective security of the GCC states in the framework of building the autonomous force of each of the states in the context of a common view."

These circles also nearly all agree that the meeting of the six Gulf leaders witnessed other agreements along the lines of unified political movement on more than one Arab, regional and international issue. It was found that Gulf and pan-Arab interests dictate that this political movement of the GCC states during this period be characterized by quiet activity devoid of exaggerations and public pronouncements.

Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad expressed the meaning of this when he said, "We prefer that movement now be political and that it avoid deteriorating to rhetoric because international and Arab circumstances are not favorable, the atmosphere is heavy and the obstacles are many." Therefore, circumstances were such that the wording of the final communique and the statements of Gulf officials did not lean more toward specifying the positions and movements that dominated the activities and conclusions of the summit.

The military and security formula that emerged from the fifth summit of GCC leaders dominated most of the interest of the foreign, and even Arab, political monitoring mechanisms. The announcement of the formation of a joint military strike force among the states of the GCC was essentially an official announcement of the strategic transition of the Gulf states to a period of preventive defense in Gulf collective security.

Arab and foreign political circles were preoccupied with pursuing the size and use of this reserve force which was rumored to have been actually formed in the beginning of 1984. This force is also said to have begun to train and test participants through joint maneuvers which have been conducted during recent months in the skies and territory of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates and in the territorial waters of the Sultanate of Oman. The announcement of this force, in the opinion of these circles, was an announcement of the completion of its training and its success in becoming essentially a mobile military force that includes troops from ground, air and naval units numbering somewhere between 10,000-15,000 highly skilled and well-equipped fighters.

Gulf officials request that the fighting mission of these troops not be given more coverage than it warrants since this joint force is still subject to improvement in its makeup, size, method of operation and central leadership. Nonetheless, the view offered by some Western military experts indicates that this military force, which will have the characteristics of an airborne mobile mechanized force, can deploy quickly during any emergency situation of a military nature that threatens any Gulf state that has been subjected to a surprise attack. This force can act essentially as an advance force to contain this attack until military reinforcements arrive from the other Gulf states. These experts add that this strike force will have the capability to move and fight because it will be linked, when its preparations are complete, to a comprehensive communications system that is tied into a radar network and early warning system which are now being completed among

the six GCC states. This will give the joint Gulf force steady information concerning its ongoing plans for mobilization throughout the Gulf states. This mobilization will take place through joint comprehensive operations with the armies of the GCC states, and through operations centers that will be built. An idea also raised by these military experts is that in the next few months until the convening of the sixth GCC summit in Oman, the military plans agreed to and to be carried out appear to be aimed at forming a unified military command among the GCC states that will support the joint strike force. These plans are also aimed at increasing the force's size as the beginning of the process of establishing other military bodies and new strike forces that will be focused on strategic points in the region.

Step Toward Unified Army

The extent of these steps will become clear in the next phase of development of the idea of establishing a unified Gulf army whose numbers could reach 200,000 soldiers during the next 2 years. It is certain that the extent of this step will depend on the results of the military and combat evaluation of the role of this strike force, the Gulf rapid deployment force. The military formula that was agreed to by the GCC leaders was not limited to the formation of this joint military force, which was created as one of the methods of deterrence and prevention of any security or terrorist threats against the states of the region. Rather, the basic thrust of movement among these leaders was to continue to bolster the autonomous military forces of each state in accordance with combat methods, to modernize these states' armies, to work to introduce a certain kind of deployment, and to increase the military presence in strategic centers in each of the states and along the land and sea borders. This emerged clearly in the statements of Kuwaiti Defense Minister Shaykh Salim Sabah al-Salim when he announced some days ago the Kuwaiti plans to increase the military presence on the two islands of Darab and Bubiyan along the Iraq-Kuwait border. This would be done by building defensive military facilities. He said, "We have plans to increase the forces stationed on the two islands and to cover the two islands with rockets and artillery."

It appears that this move will also take on other forms in the remaining GCC states during the coming phase.

In this regard, there are views circulating among Western diplomatic circles that indicate that the GCC states, as part of their economic and military assistance to Bahrain and the Sultanate of Oman, have increased allocations to strengthen the military capabilities in the two countries, especially since Oman's strategic location on the Strait of Hormuz continues to represent an extremely important focal point for achieving Gulf security.

Signs with Meaning

Because military concerns are strategically linked with internal security concerns in maintaining sovereignty and stability inside the GCC states and the area around them, the interest of political observers extended to

signs that were apparent from the results of the Kuwait summit and those things that were agreed to by the GCC leaders to confront the expected increase in acts of terrorism and violence in the states of the Middle East region.

Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad reflected this feeling when he warned at his press conference that was held after the summit conference ended that the region was truly susceptible to danger. He said, "We agreed and made the decision that the responsibility for maintaining security and stability in the region rests on the shoulders of the states of the region alone without any foreign intervention."

Political sources say that the GCC leaders actually agreed on joint plans to confront terrorism and violence, whether it results from the Iran-Iraq war or any other surprise developments. These plans will be implemented through joint security programs whose effects will become apparent during the coming months. In addition, the GCC states will embark on a new movement aimed at reaching an international formula, which all countries of the world will participate in creating, to combat the problem of terrorism on the grounds that it is an international problem, not a Gulf problem only. This movement will be directed at the United Nations and the superpowers with the goal of bringing about an international proclamation of an effort to confront and deal with the phenomenon of the spread of terrorism.

Iran-Iraq War

The discussion of the effects and dimensions of the Iran-Iraq war by the leaders of the GCC states was intertwined with military defense strategy and the development of the concept of Gulf security for the coming phase. Information and reports discussed by the Gulf leaders, as reports indicate, appear for the most part to agree that for the near term the region must learn to live with the continuation of this war and not the opposite. This means that all evidence confirms that the Iranian position will continue to be unyielding for the coming period--which will not be short--and the war of attrition launched by Iran along the front lines will be the military and political option of Iran's rulers during this period. Therefore, the GCC decisions and movements on political and military security were linked to these Iranian positions. At the same time, however, the Gulf states want to stress the effort to find openings for political movement toward new horizons that pave the way for a comprehensive peace process that could come in the context of partial, preparatory agreements as the beginning stage for entry into direct or indirect negotiations between the two parties of the conflict. The GCC states have selected two plans to confront the continuation of the war of attrition between Iran and Iraq. The first is self defense through the joint Gulf force and containment of the war inside its current borders. The second is political action to look for points of agreement between the two parties and to continue through all channels to convince Iran to modify its position. It appears to Arab diplomatic sources that the second plan will be translated into action through measures that will begin during the next few days with the visit that Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal and Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Shaykh Sabah

al-Ahmad might make--as these sources expect--to Algeria in order to reopen the file of Arab mediation and possibly to urge Algeria--the country acceptable to the two parties--to undertake a new political effort based on the Algeria agreement signed in 1975 between Iraq and Iran.

The GCC states will embark on this movement in light of a number of ideas that were agreed upon and have not yet been unveiled. It is not known whether the idea of establishing an international fund for war reparations for both Iran and Iraq was among these ideas or not. It is certain, however, that the GCC states rejected Iran's idea of concluding a collective security agreement between Iran and the GCC states because this Iranian plan did not include Iraq in the collective agreement.

GCC and Arab Action

In their discussions, the Gulf leaders raised some of the border problems between the GCC states and arrived at joint formulas for ending some of these ongoing problems. Pan-Arab problems were also discussed in detail. Arab political sources in the region confirms that the GCC states, who are exposed to most of these crises, formulated joint positions for any role that they would play in the future.

Arab sources say that the primary focus of concern of the GCC leaders dealt with the necessity of convening the Arab summit in Riyadh with sufficient attendance. It appears that Saudi Arabia expressed its view on the matter that it wants the Arab summit to be complete, comprehensive and attended by all Arab states. ~~It does not want it to be a partial summit or one that results in political eruptions.~~

Saudi Arabia refuses to hold the Riyadh summit atop a volcano of crises. Rather, Saudi Arabia wants it to be a relaxed Arab summit that goes beyond the era of minimum solidarity to a period of greater solidarity. It has become clear that this Saudi position, which was agreed to by the GCC states, will form the framework of upcoming activity of representatives of the GCC states, who will soon undertake Arab tours to prepare for the convening of the Arab summit in Riyadh and to present the results of the Kuwait summit and the Gulf views for solving the Arab and Palestinian conflicts and crises.

It is expected that there will be three primary stopping places for this movement. They are Algeria-Morocco, Damascus-Beirut, and Baghdad-Tehran. Contacts are currently under way to determine the timing of these trips which will include a number of foreign ministers from the GCC states who will carry with them new ideas and concepts that were agreed to by the leaders of the Kuwait summit.

12608

CSO: 4404/148

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

ISLAMIC CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION SUMMIT REVIEWED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 255, 29 Dec 84-4 Jan 85 pp 10-12

[Article by Salih Qallab: "Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference: Solution to Arab Disunity Sought Through Islamic Unity"]

[Text] The conference of Islamic states foreign ministers was held on schedule. The Islamic world, like the rest of the world today, is passing through a delicate period that requires rational dialog. What was the bill for the Islamic states foreign ministers conference held recently in San'a', a conference where some sessions witnessed extremely heated debate and argument? It is clear that an attempt to put out the fire of the Gulf war, whose heat touches the skin of every Muslim, was the focus of interest. The conference called for Islamic solidarity to confront the dangerous challenges facing Islam. At the same time, the Afghan issue occupied an important part of conference activities. The Islamic states foreign ministers also discussed the inhuman situation suffered by the people in occupied Palestinian territories, and the dangers of the Israeli threats to the holy places. The intensity of the discussion was increased, especially by the Syrian and Iranian delegations, concerning participation of the Egyptian delegation for the first time since the conference froze Egypt's membership after the Camp David accords. All of these issues spurred debate and argument, both public and secret, that crystallized in the final form of the conference. AL-MAJALLAH was there and was able to report the atmospherics of the conference's sessions and backstage contacts. Following is the text of the important report filed by AL-MAJALLAH's correspondent in San'a', Salih Qallab.

Five days after it opened, the 15th conference of foreign ministers of Islamic states ended its activities in San'a' on Saturday 22 December. A new secretary general was elected to succeed al-Habib al-Shatti. He is Sharif-al-Din Perzadeh, the former Pakistani minister of justice. There were two important resolutions concerning the Palestinian question. The first called for the quick formation of the "Islamic Bureau for the Boycott of the Zionist Enemy," and the second called for the Islamic Military Bureau to immediately coordinate its activities with the PLO. There were a number of additional important resolutions including a call for the prompt establishment of the Jerusalem Endowments Fund.

The second resolution affirmed the pursuit of close relations, cooperation, consultation and coordination among the military leadership of the Islamic states, "with the aim of achieving the greatest possible degree of effectiveness in support of the holy war which the Palestinian people--under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people--and those who assist them inside and outside their occupied homeland Palestine continue to wage against the Zionist enemy." The resolution also affirmed the pursuit of "the closest of relations and joint coordination with the Palestinian leadership."

This meant that the conference achieved tangible success on the level of the fundamental issue, the Palestinian question. It is well-known that the Islamic Conference Organization (ICO) was established in reaction to the crime of the burning of Jerusalem that the Zionists perpetrated in 1967.

Regarding other issues, the conference faced from its opening moments extreme difficulties, especially concerning the return of Egypt to the ICO and the Iran-Iraq war issue. These difficulties nearly led to an ominous ending had it not been for the role played by Saudi Arabia, thanks to its stature with the Islamic states, and the quiet efforts of Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal and Yemeni officials led by President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih. With the exception of differences of opinion on the Iran-Iraq war and the return of Egypt to the ICO, it was clear from the first moments that the Islamic countries were in agreement on everything and that the Arab states, who had lost their solidarity, had come to San'a' to seek Islamic solidarity to rescue Arab solidarity.

Limited Eruptions

The first obstacle confronting the conference occurred during the meeting of senior staffers to decide the foreign ministers' agenda. The Iranian delegation made two proposals concerning Egypt's return to the ICO. The first called for the expulsion of any state that has relations with Israel, and the second demanded a discussion of how Egypt could return to the organization "taking into consideration the reasons for suspending its membership." Iran made four other proposals concerning the Iran-Iraq war. The first concerned civilian prisoners, the second chemical weapons, the third navigation in the Gulf, and the fourth pollution of Gulf waters.

Thus, for the 2 days that preceded the opening of the conference, there was heated debate in the meeting of the senior staffers, which was held at the level of deputy foreign ministers. The participants were divided along three lines.

The first included Iran, Syria and Libya. The second included Egypt with Sudan, Jordan, Somalia, Iraq and most of the Asian and African Muslim countries. The second [as published] group, which played the fire-fighting role and tried to bring points of view together and emerge with acceptable solutions, was represented by the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states and the PLO.

Those who supported the Iranian point of view took the position that the resolution of the fourth Islamic conference in Casablanca concerning Egypt's return to the ICO included the stipulation that the Egyptian government adhere to Islamic resolutions concerning the Camp David accords. They held that Egypt had not fulfilled this stipulation, that the committee that had visited Cairo did not return with anything specific, and that Egyptian-Israeli relations continued despite the Casablanca resolutions.

Those who opposed the incorporation of these two articles, which were proposed by the Iranian delegation, into the foreign ministers' agenda focused on the fact that Egypt's return had been called for in an Islamic summit resolution and that neither the most senior staffers nor the foreign ministers had the right to reconsider this resolution. This group held that the committee, headed by Sekou Toure, that had visited Cairo submitted a report to King Hasan II asserting that the committee had proof of the Egyptian government's adherence to the position of the member states in the context of the goals of the ICO. The Moroccan monarch then informed the Islamic states that Egypt's return was confirmed and had become a closed issue.

The proponents of this view pointed out that this was not the first time that Egypt had attended an Islamic gathering since the Casablanca resolution. In addition to the financial and economic committees subordinate to the ICO, Egypt had participated in the Islamic states foreign ministers meeting that was held in conjunction with UN meetings in New York last September.

Concerning the Iran-Iraq war, the Iraqi delegate refused to incorporate the Iranian proposals into the agenda. He charged Iran with attempting to conceal the primary issue, the war, by raising superfluous issues. He challenged the Iranian delegation to adhere to the Islamic summit resolutions and to respond to the peace efforts being made by the ICO.

There were long consultations, discussions and meetings, which were mostly characterized as calm but sometimes as tense, such as when the head of the Syrian delegation said in one of his presentations, "We must refuse the presence of an Israeli delegation among us." (a reference to the presence of the Egyptian delegation). After this a compromise was reached in which it was agreed to submit a report to the foreign ministers concerning the activities of the senior staffers, deleting the two proposals of the Iranian delegation from the agenda and keeping the formulas submitted by the ICO.

Renewed Tension

Despite the decisiveness of the solution to this problem in the meeting of the senior staffers, tension emerged anew in the second ministerial session which was held on Wednesday, 29 December. The head of the Syrian delegation succeeded in demanding the affirmation of the part of the senior staffers' report that mentioned that the Syrian delegation believed that the presence of Egypt in the foreign ministers meeting was illegal, based on the resolution of the previous Islamic summit.

Under the slogan, "We must not be satisfied with the Islamization of Camp David," the Iranian delegate stood and supported the Syrian view and said in a long speech that Iran does not reject the Casablanca summit resolution, but wants it extended by implementing its conditions concerning the Camp David resolution. The Libyan foreign minister, 'Ali 'Abd-al-Sallam al-Turayki, merely said, "The subject is not to be raised for thorough discussion. We have announced our position and my Syrian colleague has raised a legal point. We must note this point then close the discussion and continue our work."

The Egyptian foreign minister, Dr 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, responded by pointing out that the issue was thoroughly discussed in the senior staffers meeting, and he accused those who raised this issue anew of attempting to stir recriminations among the foreign ministers. He reiterated that the tripartite committee created by the Casablanca summit had reflected Egypt's true position toward the Palestine issue and Islamic issues.

After 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, the foreign ministers from Sudan, Jordan, Iraq, Guinea, Guinea Bissau and Gabon spoke and supported the Egyptian view. They expressed their view that reopening discussion of this matter would essentially be a renunciation of the Islamic summit resolution. In this regard, Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz said, "The Casablanca summit's resolution charged the tripartite committee and King Hasan II in his capacity as chairman of the summit to prepare a final report concerning Egypt's request for the restoration of its membership in the ICO. The committee was satisfied that the measures for Egypt's return were complete and that nothing remained unfulfilled. It submitted a report to this effect to the Moroccan monarch, who fulfilled his role by informing the Islamic states of the report." Tariq 'Aziz stated that the tripartite committee acted with the authorization of the summit and that Hasan II acted with the same authorization. He said that the summit's resolution did not indicate that discussion of this issue could be taken up in any lower forums, and that it did indicate that "if any state has an objection in this matter, it must raise it at the upcoming summit and not at the foreign ministers conference."

In the discussion it was apparent that the Iranian delegation alone was obstinate concerning this question, and that the Syrian and Libyan delegations were participating in the arguments against the presence of the Egyptian delegation in deference to the Iranian view. This was clear when the head of the Syrian delegation stood and terminated the debate by saying, "I would like to clarify for the second time what my brother 'Abd-al-Sallam al-Turayki has already clarified. What I wanted to raise was a point overlooked by the report of the senior staffers, and that is my country's delegation has reservations about the presence of Egypt at this conference. We know that discussion of this issue must take place at the upcoming summit...Some here have wanted to spur us to enter into argument... The report neglected the point raised by our delegation and we request the inclusion of what the report neglected."

Political Committee Tour

At this point discussion of the Egyptian issue ended and the Iran-Iraq war remained the primary concern of the political committee that was established by the foreign ministers. The Iranian delegation insisted on the position that it had raised in the senior staffers meeting, and it announced its reservation concerning the resolutions of the fourth summit, "whereas we were not present and whereas this summit listened to only one point of view."

The political committee received the draft resolution on the Iran-Iraq conflict submitted by Jordan, Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Oman, the Maldives, Sudan, Egypt, Morocco, Djibouti, Tunisia, Somalia and the United Arab Emirates.

This draft, which was comprised of six articles and preamble that mentioned previous resolutions, included praise for the good offices committee, a call for the two parties of the conflict to cease hostilities, expression of satisfaction over Iraq's position, and praise for the rest of the member countries for "refraining from taking any measures that would themselves lead to continuation of the conflict."

The Iranian delegation, however, rejected this formulation and demanded that Iraq be charged with responsibility for obstructing navigation in the Gulf. The delegation insisted on incorporating the questions of civilian prisoners and chemical weapons in the draft resolution. In return, the Iraqi delegation announced its adherence to Islamic resolutions, requested the establishment of a fact-finding committee, and announced its country's adherence in advance to whatever emerges from this committee.

Facing this situation and seeking the success of the conference, Saudi diplomacy represented by Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal and Yemeni diplomacy through Foreign Minister Dr 'Abd-al-Karim al-Iryani and Yemeni Ambassador to Washington Muhsin al-'Ayni played nearly the savior's role and acted as a bridge across which the resolutions of the ministers of Islamic states passed without being pulled under by the currents of the conflicting parties.

On this basis a compromise was reached which stipulated a mention in the resolution's preamble of Iraq's positive position toward the sincere efforts to settle the conflict. In exchange, text was added to the end of the resolution which implored both parties to avoid the use of chemical weapons. Despite this, the Iranian delegation noted its reservations on two occasions: Once in the political committee and once in the foreign ministers meeting over the paragraph concerning stopping the war and the paragraph concerning the resolutions of the fourth Islamic summit on the same issue.

It is worth mentioning here that Yemeni officials made exhaustive efforts to hold a meeting between Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz and Iranian foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati. Nothing came of these efforts, however, although it was noted that Yemeni President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih

received the Iranian and Iraqi ministers on two consecutive occasions and it is said that Tariq 'Aziz was in the adjoining room when the Yemeni President received the Iranian foreign minister during a courtesy call that Velayati made to 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih.

A question must be asked here: Did the Islamic states foreign ministers conference take a step toward settling the Iran-Iraq conflict and ending the Gulf war?

An observer from afar would certainly sense development, although limited, in this direction. Iran, for the first time since the outbreak of the war participated in this conference in the person of its foreign minister. For the first time Iran appeared flexible and did not threaten to withdraw. Despite this, the facts that one perceives from up close indicate otherwise. The Iranian delegation received the resolutions of other Islamic conferences and rejected the principle of ceasing hostilities. In addition, more than one Iranian official repeated in the halls of the conference headquarters that his country was committed to its previous condition that the war would not be stopped as long as the ruling regime in Iraq is not toppled. Despite this it can be said without hesitation that the San'a' meeting achieved tremendous success by including explosive issues and making important resolutions regarding the Palestinian issue. Among these resolutions was an affirmation of the necessity of holding an international conference to solve the Middle East crisis, and an emphasis on the necessity of implementing previous Islamic resolutions concerning the city of Jerusalem and the Palestinian issue.

War Against Drought

Among the successes that the conference achieved were a series of practical measures taken to assist the states of the African littoral in confronting desertification, to provide immediate food and medical aid to these countries, and to devise a program to increase the productive capabilities of these countries. In this regard, Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal gave a speech in the ministerial committee that was formed by the conference in which he proposed the formation of popular committees in the Islamic states to aid the afflicted people and states, and similar popular committees in the beneficiary states to receive and distribute the material assistance.

Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal stated that such a committee had been formed in Saudi Arabia and he indicated that the results were better than expected. He said, "The intention is to strengthen the Islamic identity through the feeling that one Muslim is staving off the hunger of another Muslim."

The ministerial committee ratified unanimously the Saudi proposal which also pointed out the necessity of devising a plan to keep the residents of the afflicted countries from migrating. These people are forced by the drought conditions to move with their herds from one place to another. Their migration is a burden on the other residents, whether in the same country or in another neighboring country.

Finally, one must raise the usual question: To what extent did the Islamic states ministers conference succeed in achieving the goals which Muslims in all corners of the world expect?

The truth is that the conference, with the results that it achieved, accomplished a great thing, especially if we take into consideration the circumstances through which the Islamic world is passing and the size of the obstacles that confront any unified Islamic movement. On this basis, we demonstrate the truth of what we said earlier, that is, that Arab disunity traveled to San'a' to search for Islamic unity. This unity was achieved.

[Inset: "Scenes from the Conference"]

[Text] When one of the ministers asked Tariq 'Aziz whether agreement was reached on stopping the Iran-Iraq war, he answered, "We agreed only on paper!"

Muhsin al-'Anyi, the Yemeni ambassador in Washington was moving like a shuttle in the conference headquarters cafeteria between the Iraqi delegation, which was sitting in one corner, and the Iranian delegation, which was sitting in an opposite corner.

The representatives from Syria, Libya, South Yemen and Iran were put out in the Sheba Hotel, while the Egyptian, PLO and Iraqi delegations were put in the Sheraton Hotel.

The Sudanese representative warned of the likelihood of a fistfight during the senior staffers meeting if discussion of the Iran-Iraq war continued the way the Iranian representative was discussing it.

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

GULF COUNTRIES LOOK FOR ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF INCOME

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 408, 15 Dec 84 pp 57-58

[Article: "The Post-Petroleum Age Has Begun, Although the Oil Hasn't Run Out Yet"]

[Text] When the fifth Gulf summit convened in Kuwait, some Gulf economists raised the question whether the post-petroleum age hadn't already begun, even though the oil has not yet run out.

This question was occasioned by the downward trend in petroleum prices, the ensuing OPEC decision to lower the production ceiling to 16.5 million barrels a day, and the resultant drop in exports.

Thus there is an almost total concensus of opinion that relying on petroleum alone as a source of income is not only a big mistake, but would be a virtual disaster. Everyone knows that nowadays the Gulf states as a group are trying to find other sources of livelihood in order to diversify their revenues, even though there is no expectation, either now or in 20 years, that the world would be able to do without petroleum, for it is a unique substance for which there will never be a substitute of equal value.

One suggestion is to look into relying on other resources such as minerals, marine resources, the relatively scant agricultural land, and even solar energy. Saudi Arabia has been stepping up its mineral prospecting operations, but it feels that there is no advantage in exploiting them until it gains a more significant industrial standing.

Other proposals include establishing a broader infrastructure of petrochemical industries and oil refineries, in addition to establishing Gulf oil companies to discover and extract oil in other parts of the world, and other oil-related industries.

But the most significant development is that all the OPEC countries tend to favor profitable industrial projects which can be adapted to environmental conditions. For example, industries which employ foreign labor have been proven to be of only limited benefit, because the value of any industry lies in the local availability of the human and material resources it needs, for

this adds to the raw material an additional value--the real profit reaped by the country. Therefore, the new guideline for industry is to consider those which employ Gulf manpower and a smaller percentage of foreign labor.

But developing human resources is a long-term process which might take 10 or 20 years, especially since the young people of the Gulf are in general not inclined to enter the field of industry, or even agriculture. Therefore, the spotlight is still focused on petrochemical and refinery projects, and some selected larger industrial projects such as iron, steel, aluminum and so forth, especially in view of the availability of the vast capital, abundant energy sources, and small, specialized labor forces which these projects require.

In this context, two different experiments have emerged, the first being the Saudi experiment in establishing petrochemical complexes and giant oil refineries, and the second being the Kuwait experiment in acquiring foreign companies and the technologies for extracting, marketing and refining oil. Even though these two experiments are obviously dissimilar and diametrically opposed in concept, they both complement each other.

The Saudi Basic Industries Company [SABIC] will finish building its petrochemical complexes next year and will thus become a world source for petrochemicals, since its exports are expected to amount to US\$ 5 billion. It appears that the obstacles which Europe has placed in the way of SABIC's exports will crumble in the face of the Gulf-Saudi axis, which is making its preparations now. Once these difficulties are overcome, Saudi Arabia will begin establishing a series of plastics industries fed by SABIC-produced raw materials. In addition, preparations are being made for establishing an automobile industry, a machine industry, and other industries, all of which will come under the recently established Saudi Industrialization Company.

The Gulf-Saudi tendency in this direction is confirmed by the fact that the European oil refineries are on the verge of bankruptcy, and the companies which own them are splitting them up and selling them to Middle Eastern countries. This may indicate that not only the petroleum refineries, but the petrochemical complexes as well, are moving to the sources of petroleum.

The Kuwaiti Petroleum Organization, which has become a world petroleum company, owns oil refineries, gasoline stations, sister prospecting companies, and an American company which is a giant in the field of prospecting and exploration, in addition to its Kuwaiti assets, which consist of oil refineries, a petrochemical complex, gasoline stations, and so forth.

Vice President of the Organization 'Abd-al-Razzaq Munla Husayn, who is also board chairman for the Kuwaiti Overseas Petroleum Exploration Company, says that in the field of overseas prospecting, the company has gone through several developments which have confirmed its important ranking among international oil exploration companies. The company has received 88 offers from various countries to exploit oil deposits or prospect for oil in their territories. To date, the company has spent more than \$250 million on

exploration, prospecting, seismic surveys, well drilling, and administrative expenses. It has drilled 39 wells since it was founded, and has discovered quantities of oil and gas. It has obtained concessions in Egypt, Indonesia, China, the Congo, Oman, Ireland, Italy, Tanzania, Turkey, the Sudan, and Australia. This company is considered unique in the Third World, since it will soon begin exploiting the oil it has discovered and setting up the necessary installations.

The Kuwaiti Petroleum Organization is the proprietor of the largest oil company in the world if you add Kuwaiti crude oil reserves to its assets. The company's income from overseas operations has become an important source of revenue for Kuwait.

In the past, concern for agriculture in the Gulf countries has been one of the cornerstones of the effort to diversify sources of income. Saudi Arabia is practically self-sufficient in vegetables, fruits and grains, and has in fact achieved self-sufficiency in poultry, egg and fresh milk production. Even though it is now changing its agricultural policy by reducing subsidies, it will maintain its concern for agriculture.

Likewise, Kuwait is using very modern methods to produce about 27 percent of the vegetables and some types of fruits that it needs. Kuwait's recent resumption of planting palm trees may result from a subconscious feeling of the need to diversify and return to previous generations' sources of livelihood. The visitor to Kuwait will observe that nowadays the streets, the gardens of private homes, and farm lands are being planted with date palms. An estimated 60,000 palm seedlings have been planted recently, and a company with 20 million Kuwaiti dinars in capital has been founded recently to plant and harvest 1 million date palms, whereas until just a short time ago, there were very few date palms in Kuwait.

In a lecture delivered in Kuwait recently, Dr Muhammad al-Rahimi concentrated on the challenge of development, especially human development, pointing out that the Gulf has many resources to meet this challenge: 15 million people, petroleum and natural gas resources to last 700 years, official fiscal balances of \$290 billion, and commercial bank balances of \$100 billion. Therefore, time has not yet run out.

8559

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

GULF STATES, JAPAN DISCUSS TECHNOLOGICAL, ECONOMIC COOPERATION

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1468, 21 Dec 84 p 27

[Article by 'Adil Malik in Tokyo: "Tokyo Seminar On the Horizons For Cooperation Between the Gulf States and Japan: Regulating the Petroleum-Technology Exchange and Merging Economics and Politics"]

[Text] Kuwait's Deputy Information Minister and Chairman of the Petroleum Information Committee Shaykh Nasir Muhammad al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah was getting ready to travel to Tokyo when news reached him that a Kuwaiti airplane bound for Pakistan had been hijacked and forced to land at Tehran's Mahrabad Airport. He decided to cancel his trip and stay in Kuwait in order to follow developments, and apologized to the Japanese for not attending. His absence radically altered the general course of the study circle, which had been organized by Tokyo's Middle East Center in cooperation with the Petroleum Information Committee to study "the horizons for cooperation between the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] States and Japan," in which a distinguished group of Arab Gulf and Japanese experts were participating.

The importance of this Tokyo meeting is implicit in the title of the study, and its scope can be seen from the scope of both sides: the GCC countries and all that they represent, and the State of Japan and all that it stands for.

In other words, this seminar brought together representatives of both the sellers of Arab petroleum and the creators of the technology which has made Japan one of the world's foremost industrial nations.

From the very beginning, the Japanese side attached special importance to this seminar, inasmuch as Japan imports about 70 percent of its oil from the Arab world. From the discussions, one can summarize the Japanese stands on the following main points as follows.

1. Japanese officials, financiers and businessmen want to stress their desire to continue obtaining Arab oil on a long-term basis in order to continue the country's development plans, which are truly amazing because of their significant achievements and because of the important part which oil plays in development.

2. The Japanese side voiced its desire to see greater stability in the oil market from the standpoint of price.

3. Another important point brought up comes under the heading of "oil security." The Japanese are not hiding their uneasiness as to how the disturbances in the region will affect the transit of oil to Japan. There were clear references to the Iraq-Iran war, the direct hits which some oil tankers have sustained recently, and the fear that such incidents will be repeated.

4. The Japanese side raised an important point which may have been a gentle threat directed at the Arab side. More than one speaker referred to Japan's inclination to reduce its reliance on Arab oil in the future, and in reviewing figures, hinted at a possible reduction in reliance on Arab oil from 70 percent to 40 percent by the year 2000, by which time the Japanese may have found some other energy source to replace oil.

The Gulf side raised the following points.

1. Japan's importance as a principle consumer market for Arab oil was affirmed, as were the common interests of both sides as exporters and consumers of oil.

2. The Gulf side insisted that the scope of the dialog be expanded. Dealings between Arab countries and Japan must not be limited to oil, or to the importation of technologies developed in Japan, but should transcend purely commercial transactions to include many other aspects, such as culture, civilization, and general policy.

3. So far, experience has shown that in spite of the considerable volume of trade between Japan and the Arab countries, the Arab world hardly knows Japan, and vice-versa. Therefore, dealings must be developed and focused more and more in the near future.

4. One important aspect which occupied a major part of the discussions was merging politics and economics. On this point, the Arab Gulf side asked Japan to support the Arab stand on the struggle with Israel, and to use its moral influence as a major industrial power to exert greater pressures which might help create solutions for the region's crisis.

Although the Japanese side did not want to reply to this at any great length or make any promises, the Arab side wanted to stress this point in an attempt to reply to repeated comments by the Japanese speakers about their continued awareness of the severity of the "oil crunch" of 1973.

In the course of general discussion, President of Tokyo's Middle East Cooperation Center Suhai Nakayama called for a serious exporter-consumer dialog about energy, saying that this meeting provides the right environment for initiating such a dialog. He also stressed the need to expand cultural

exchanges with the Gulf states, since the Japanese people must learn more about the Arabs and their heritage, traditions and philosophy, and the Arabs must learn more about Japan as a people, culture and civilization.

Assistant GCC Secretary General for Economic Affairs Dr 'Abdallah al-Quwayyiz gave the Tokyo seminar an overview of the oil situation, the complications which have come about through changes in supply and demand in the oil market, and the hidden reasons for them. He ended by saying that no increase in the price of OPEC oil can be expected before 1990.

Japan's Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry Yosano pointed out that Japan gets 70 percent of its oil from the Middle East, and that this meeting is an opportunity to initiate an in-depth dialog which will lead to the consolidation of Arab-Japanese relations. Deputy Foreign Minister Mrs Mayumi Moriyama mentioned the need to revive the joint Arab-Japanese commission which had been established to examine the development of relations and how to further them. She called for stable, sound relations "because common interests unite us."

Several Kuwaiti experts presented a group of studies and working papers of a very serious nature. Candidate Member of the Kuwait Petrochemical Industry Company 'Adnan Yusuf al-Mir presented a documented review, backed up by pictures and charts, of Kuwait's petrochemical industry and the stages of development it has gone through during the past few years. He stressed that the Arab world will continue to be the principle exporter of oil to Japan, regardless of some erroneous considerations to the contrary.

Director General of Kuwait's Scientific Research Institute Dr 'Adnan Shihab-al-Din reviewed the integral connection between scientific organizations, research and development centers, and production and service facilities in industrialized nations, and the weakness and occasional lack of that connection in developing countries.

Former Rector of Kuwait University Dr Hasan Ibrahim, while acknowledging the importance of this seminar, concentrated on the combined political-economic aspect, and complained of "the Japanese government's submissiveness to American policy." He called for expanding the scope of Arab-Japanese cooperation to include cultural, intellectual and collegiate aspects.

Saudi Information Ministry Assistant Deputy Minister for Information Affairs Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Sayigh presented a study, in his name and that of Dr Walid al-Sharif of the Petroleum Information Committee, which reviewed the variables which have emerged in the oil market, the disturbances in supply and demand, and the competition which some OPEC states face from the production and sale of oil by other OPEC states at prices competitive with the official OPEC price. He stressed the need to consider political aspects when speaking of Arab oil, such as the Iraq-Iran war and the Arab-Israeli conflict. He stressed the need to initiate an Arab-Japanese dialog aimed at solving some existing problems, "because for the producing states, oil is a question of life."

Prof Nasir-al-Din al-Nashashibi was foremost among those raising the issue of non-separation of politics and economics, calling on Japan to support the Arab cause, and not to be content with obtaining Arab oil and paying the price for it.

The Tokyo seminar is important because it was held, and was the first of its kind. It was a start, and it must not be the end of the road to establishing firm, stable bases for Arab-Japanese dealings, changing the oil-technology balance, and bringing about a deeper, more serious and beneficial cooperation, so that the Arabs and the people of the Gulf will no longer be viewed as merely sellers of oil.

8559

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ADOPTION OF '24 APRIL' MOTION BY U.S. CONGRESS PREDICTED

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 14 Jan 85 pp 1,4

[Text] TERCUMAN's correspondent reports from Washington:

The passage through Congress of a resolution calling for the official designation of 24 April as a "day of remembrance for the Armenian and other world genocides" is now considered a certainty in the United States. The bill was introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives last week.

It is the opinion of congressmen and congressional circles that Resolution 37 will certainly be endorsed and that its passage cannot be blocked by any means no matter where such pressures come from. Therefore, the general impression is that the said resolution will definitely be endorsed by both houses of Congress some time this year.

Democratic congressmen submitted the resolution to the House Speaker last Wednesday to be studied by the House Postal and Public Services Committee.

The U.S. Congress which opened its 99th session this month has several bills on the agenda of its committees which will be taken up after 21 January when President Reagan will be officially sworn in office. Congressmen appear to be positively convinced that Resolution 37 will definitely pass Congress before the end of this year. According to the same circles, however, the endorsement of the resolution may be delayed slightly because of Prime Minister Turgut Ozal's visit to the United States. As is known, Ozal will begin a visit to the United States on 2 April as the official guest of President Reagan. According to reports circulating among official U.S. circles, the said resolution will be held up for some time, but will be put back on the agenda as soon as Ozal ends his visit and returns to Turkey. This step will be taken in view of the risk that Ozal may cancel his U.S. visit if the resolution is endorsed before 2 April. According to information obtained from circles close to the U.S. President, it is impossible to block the passage of this resolution although President Reagan will do his best to have the resolution rejected. However, an official from the same circles has indicated that any such efforts would be futile, and this view is confirmed by congressional circles.

According to the same sources, the Armenian lobby has recently stepped up its activities, and both Republicans and Democrats admit to the seriousness of the situation. It is everyone's opinion that in this situation the entire burden of work rests on the Turkish embassy in Washington.

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

TURKISH GROUPS IN NEW YORK FORM UNITED FRONT AGAINST ARMENIANS

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 15 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] Seventeen Turkish associations and organizations operating within New York state have decided to form a united front against the latest Armenian campaign to have 24 April designated as a "day of remembrance for genocide victims."

The said organizations decided to form an alliance among themselves to coordinate their efforts in view of the fact that American authorities will apparently be unable to block this Armenian campaign which has already received the endorsement of a large number of congressmen and senators.

It is reported that an organization "to promote Turkey and international relations" has been formed and that the said organization will promote Turkey among Americans who know virtually nothing about this issue or, if they do, are completely uninformed about the truth.

9588
CSO: 4605/80

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ASALA LEADER HAGOPIAN SAID TO BE ALIVE

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 11 Jan 85 p 1

[Text] A news agency correspondent reports from Paris that the headquarters of the Armenian secret organization, ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia], has been moved to Athens in view of the fact that Greek authorities have shown the closest interest toward the said organization's activities.

The correspondent says that, according to the records of the French secret service, Hagop Hagopian, an ASALA leader, took part in the Munich massacre during the 1972 Olympic Games where a group of Israeli athletes and officials were killed. In this connection it is also reported that ASALA receives assistance from the Bulgarian secret service as well as Syrian organizations.

On this occasion, the French daily LE MATIN wrote extensively about ASALA and Hagop Hagopian noting that the real name of the Armenian terrorist is Bedros Avanesian, that he is about 38 years old and that he was born in Iraq. According to the same report, Hagopian has cancer but remains active.

9588
CSO: 4605/81

ALGERIA

NEW SOURCES OF ENERGY ASSESSED

Solar Energy Development

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French 11-13 Jan 85 pp 28-31

[Article by Chabane Boumeddane, head of the solar energy department of the solar equipment experimental station: "Prospects for Development of Solar Energy"]

[Text] Algeria, with its 2,350,000 square kilometers of territory, is one of the world's countries that receives the most sunshine. Some regions of the country have more than 3,600 hours per year, which is a world record. Is that not a reason for our country to place particular emphasis on development and mastery of solar energy?

Another factor is that our fossil reserves (oil and gas) will be running out in 40 years. In order to guarantee the future of the coming generations, research and development of techniques using solar energy should be priorities, just as much as agriculture, in order to achieve its total mastery, especially now that the country has adequate human and financial resources for this.

In 1984, solar energy is certainly a reality. There are already electrosolar thermodynamic power plants of 14 megawatts, capable of supplying a whole town such as Adrar, for example.

In the 2000 time-frame, given a sustained effort in solar energy research and the present trend of decreasing cost of solar cells, in some of the regions receiving a great deal of sunshine (south of the country) photovoltaic electricity would be competitive with the other, traditional energy sources. Out of concern that future generations will have a reliable energy potential, the New Energies Agency (CEN) was established in January 1982. The main and immediate mission of the CEN's development centers, and particularly the Bouzareah experimental station, is to completely master solar technology.

The experimental station has only been operating for a year, and currently 14 projects are underway, including some that are very encouraging, in particular the following:

Water Heating by Solar Energy

Water heating by solar radiation is now very common round the world. For example, a country such as Japan has some 5 million solar water heaters.

A solar water heater with a capacity of 250 liters per day was one of the very first projects of the experimental station. There followed the success achieved in May 1983 in development of 04 [as published] prototype water heaters. Made entirely of local materials (tank of asbestos cement, collector of wood), a pre-assembly-line series of 50 water heaters of fiberglass was undertaken and completed in 1984. This water heater, which is entirely original, designed and assembled at the Bouzareah station, called for participation by national industry. Thus, the collector and tank containers were produced by the fiberglass container unit of the ENPC [expansion unknown] plastics complex at Chlef. The National Chemical Industries Company (SNIC) at Lakhdaria produced a special paint; also, a line of research on selectively absorbent paints will be undertaken. Thus, the industrial applied research link is becoming a reality for our country.

More than 20 sanitary hot water installations have been built in the country.

--A solar water heater supplies the surgical clinic of Mustapha hospital;

--A solar water heater supplies the laboratory of Beni-Messous hospital;

--Three solar water heaters: Batna wilaya;

--Three solar water heaters: M'Sila wilaya;

--Two solar water heaters: Adrar wilaya.

As a result of this educational operation, numerous public organizations are already asking the CEN for installation of solar water heaters. To meet this constantly growing need, a team of researchers of the experimental station is working on industrial production of this type of application. Also, in the very near future, it will be possible for the general public to obtain solar water heaters on the market. By this project, Algerian researchers have demonstrated that, using the country's scientific potential, industrial units can be completely designed and produced without foreign assistance and without obtaining production licenses.

The implementation of this project depends significantly on participation of the public enterprises, for example:

--Aluminum sections and sheet metal will be supplied by the National Steel Company (SNS);

--Stamping operations will be carried out by the Prometal plant at Miliana;

--Glass and paint will be produced by SNIC;

--Metal tanks will be produced by SNMETAL.

Solar Desalination Basin

Some areas of the country face serious difficulties in drinking water supply. The south of the country has a veritable underground sea, however, this water, because of its high salinity, is sometimes unfit for drinking or irrigation purposes.

For brackish water with salinity less than 5 grams per liter, desalination can have a significant role.

Researchers at the station in November 1983 prepared an experimental solar desalination basin at Hassi Khebir (Bechar wilaya). A study is underway on constructing a large solar desalination unit (10,000 square meters of concrete basins) capable of providing water to a locality with 250 inhabitants.

In the same field, the SEES [expansion unknown] researchers have developed a greenhouse-effect distiller of fiberglass (capacity 51 joules per square meter) intended primarily to produce chemically pure distilled water for supply to hospitals, pharmacies, service stations, large motor pools, and small and medium-size industries.

More than 50 distillers have already been installed on site.

--Two, completely independent solar distilling installations, without supplementary energy, supply distilled water to Beni-Messou and Mustapha hospitals.

--As for the solar heaters, a plan for assembly line production of this type of distillers will be carried out in 1985.

Solar refrigeration is called upon to play a very important role, particularly in the south. During very hot periods, a major part of the 14 megawatts produced by the Adrar power plant is consumed by air conditioners (1,000 air conditioners can use up to 500 kilowatts). Also, in isolated areas (Tamanrasset wilaya) significant quantities of medical products, in particular vaccines, are discarded because of inability to preserve them. This is why the solar station, in order to meet certain priorities, in particular health service for the working masses, has undertaken two major lines of development and research in order to meet as quickly as possible the needs of certain wilayas. These are as follows:

--Thermal refrigeration:

After development of an intermittent cycle absorption machine, with a capacity of 1 cubic meter, and the very satisfactory results achieved, a second absorption machine, of 5 cubic meters, combined with solar collectors, is being developed and will soon be operational. This type of machine is mainly intended for preservation of perishable agricultural products in rural areas without electricity.

--Photovoltaic refrigeration:

The task for researchers in this field is to rapidly develop a domestic refrigerator powered by solar cells and also a medical preserving refrigerator for public health. After obtaining the results and completing the tests of the prototypes currently being developed, the CEN researchers anticipate, in the very near future, industrial development of the solar refrigerator.

The resolutions of the fifth extraordinary FLN congress and the decisions on the future development plans show that agriculture will be given top priority to enable the country to achieve self-sufficiency. How can solar energy contribute to achieving these objectives?

In the field of small water projects, more than 10 photovoltaic solar pumping installations have been operating normally for a year. An experimental solar pumping program is underway. The following are the locations and sizes:

- Pump, 1,500 watts, at Ghardaia;
- Pump, 240 watts, at Ain Oussera;
- Pump, 1,500 watts, at Tamanrasset;
- Pump, 1,500 watts, at Slim (M'Sila);
- Pump, 240 watts, at Arris (Batna);
- Pump, 240 watts, self-managed operation, Batna;
- Pump, 1,500 watts, at Ain Yagout, Batna;
- Pump, 240 watts, Mellouka at Adrar.

In order to meet the needs of the fellahs, the experimental station has established the objective, in cooperation with the Berrouaghia complex, of industrial production of immersed solar pumps. Already, the SEES researchers are more and more combining equipment with resort to local products.

In future, the metal portions of the solar generator will no longer be imported. Likewise, the wiring and fasteners will be obtained directly from public companies.

Solar Drying

An experiment in solar drying of agricultural products was started in July 1983 at the institute for development of industrial crops (station in Issers wilaya of Tizi-Ouzou) for drying of light tobacco.

After a year of experimentation, satisfying results were obtained and, with the support of the Ministry of Agriculture, it is already planned to publicize this type of solar drier. Along with this operation, another type of solar drier for fruit was developed and installed at the INRA of Baraki. This type of drier is intended for processing harvest surpluses, particularly apricots (N'Gaous) and the dried raisins of Mascara.

In the field of solar greenhouses, an experiment was conducted in winter 1984 for night heating of solar greenhouses. Agronomists face the problem of thermal loss during the night that has a considerable effect on behavior of some plants and thus significantly reduces harvest yield. For the high

plateau areas, which have a rigorous climate in winter but almost permanent sunshine, solar energy could make a considerable contribution to improving thermal equilibrium of the agricultural greenhouses.

The technology of photoelectric cells has developed continuously since its beginning in 1954. At first, the output of solar cells barely exceeded 3 percent. In 1984, the yield of solar cells based on monocrystalline silicon approaches 15 percent. In 1986, the most technologically advanced countries expect to exceed yields of 17 percent. Thus, as a result of the ambitious research programs by these same countries, it is expected to obtain a yield higher than 25 percent in the year 2000 time-frame. Currently, photovoltaic solar energy is still expensive in comparison with conventional energy sources, however, with the increase in yield of photoelectric cells on the one hand, and, on the other, the trend of declining cost of the peak watt, photovoltaic electricity could, within the next 20 years, seriously compete with traditional energy sources. In its research and development program the experimental station is assigning a priority role for photovoltaic applications.

Several projects have been implemented on site in 1984.

--Signals for the road Bordj Badji Mokhtar, Reggane (Adrar wilaya), which is 650 kilometers long. This road, which has produced many victims, has the reputation of being one of the most difficult in the world since it crosses the famous Tanezrouft plateau.

--Photovoltaic electrification of 10 schools located in difficult access areas (Batna wilaya).

--Equipment of six wells with solar pumps (Batna wilaya).

--Solar energy supply to two radio relay stations (Arris daïra).

--Beginning soon of solar energy supply to a cathodic protection post (Biskra wilaya).

--Putting in operation of the 100-kilowatt photovoltaic power station (Adrar wilaya) to supply electricity to Melouka village.

Thanks to the very encouraging results achieved by the CEN researchers, the future of solar energy is very promising for our country. The development of solar energy is very recent, and our country does not have an insurmountable lag in this field. There is no doubt about the advantages of solar energy, despite its uncertain nature. It is a true form of energy, nonpolluting, inexhaustible, renewable, and available everywhere. All these factors make this the most promising form of energy, and the only form capable of replacing our fossil reserves, which are being exhausted. Will it be possible to produce 20 to 25 percent from renewable energy forms at the end of the century? To achieve this imperative objective for our country, special research efforts will have to be made in developing the following in particular:

--The silicon industry (the basic material of cells), to master the complete production cycle of solar cells, applied research involving the national industry in materials (glass, paint, structures), and incorporating solar equipment into homes (heating of domestic water, heating of houses).

Wind Energy

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French 11-18 Jan 85 pp 32-34

[Article by H. Bensaad, doctor of physical-mathematical sciences: "Wind Energy in Algeria"]

[Text] The harmonious use of the various types of energy in the overall energy balance of the country is a strategic problem of prime importance, even though the major part of the country, particularly the northern region, has sufficient quantities of energy.

Energy is necessary to meet the basic needs of the people who are without it. Likewise, because the cost of oil--the current main source of energy--will be rising as the reserves are exhausted, it becomes extremely urgent to replace it. The new, renewable sources of energy can provide a promising alternative, in particular wind, one of whose characteristics is its availability virtually everywhere.

The potential for practical use of wind energy is determined by numerous factors, of which three can be regarded as essential:

--Massive introduction of the energy across the country and electrification of agriculture.

--Mechanization of agriculture and development of the land.

--Existence of a world market for windmills giving better and better performance and at low cost compared to other energy sources, in particular liquid fuel engines.

Large-Scale Use

These three factors will determine the main direction of wind energy research and development. Just as for any source of energy, estimation and evaluation of the potential for wind energy is a prerequisite to any use or investment. The mastery of wind energy and its use will require knowledge of wind properties and behavior. Knowledge about wind speed; its hourly, daily, and seasonal variations; frequency of distribution; and knowledge of prevailing directions are essential for choosing the specific installation sites and dimensions.

To this end, one of the most useful tools is a meteorological network, quite closely spaced, providing meteorological data over a long period (at least 10 years). This data will make it possible to answer the following principle questions:

1. In what areas of the country is there sufficient wind to be economically useful?
2. What is the distribution of average annual wind speed in the country, and how much energy can be expected or is recoverable?
3. What is the distribution of windy periods during the day, month and year?
4. What is the distribution during the year of very calm and very strong wind? (and prepare an atlas of the country's wind).

Although the national meteorological network is relatively weak, for purposes of wind energy use the available data does enable us to say that the wind could be exploited in Algeria.

Indeed, the statistics show that this energy is available everywhere in the country. The number of cumulative hours in a year in which windspeed is higher than 3 meters per second is quite significant (see table and map). This is sufficient speed to start and operate a slow windmill.

On the basis of past records on the need of agriculture, water projects and other sectors, and considering the number of wells and drillings, estimated at more than 400,000 across the country (INRH statistics), we can envision installation of more than 40,000 windmills.

Wind energy can thus be used on a large scale for pumping water.

The rural environment will be the first concern. Water is a key factor there, for it is the source of life and development. It is necessary for human and animal consumption and irrigation. These three uses do not have the same importance from one region to another, from one season to another, depending on the nature of the soil, its occupancy, and its use. Thus, in the transitional areas only human and animal supply is important (steppe areas), while in the irrigable areas all three uses combine. This enables us to estimate the quantities of water necessary in this or that area, in this or that period of the year, to know the quantities and to decide on the type of windmill and pump to install, as well as the volume of the controlling reservoir to meet needs under optimum conditions.

(Introduction of windmills into Algeria dates from 1946 and 1947, as well as the existence of a factory at Sidi-Bel-Abbes).

The choice of the rural environment is dictated by several reasons:

--Economic, first. Water is extracted using motor pumps or electric pumps operated by generators or connected to the system, or by human or animal operation. All the motor pumps, electric pumps, and generating units are imported. Their operation requires significant amounts of energy. Their continued operation, maintenance and repair requires spare parts and competent and available technicians, which are not always available, particularly in remote and isolated areas. Importation of motors and use of oil fuel as the energy source (thermal or electric) draws heavily on the country's foreign

exchange reserves. Hence, the installation of 40,000 windmills of an average power of 500 watts, operating 4,000 hours per year, would make possible a saving of almost 3 billion centimes, the equivalent of saving 30,000 tons of oil, or, in other words, the equivalent of \$6 million per year at the current oil price.

A windmill, well maintained and protected, has a life of 25 years. Its maximum cost (purchase, installation, servicing and repair) is little more than 150,000 dinars. A motor pump, well maintained, has a life of 5 years. It requires fuel, spare parts and regular maintenance. The statistics reveal that a 5-kilowatt motor pump costs 10,000 dinars. Annual cost of fuel and spare parts is between 5,000 and 1,000 dinars. Even using the 5,000 figure, we come up with a total expense per well over 5 years of 35,000 dinars, and thus an expenditure of 1.40 billion centimes for 40,000 wells. The total cost over 25 years of the motor pumps will be 700 billion centimes, while that of the windmills will be 600 billion, a savings of 4 billion centimes per year!

--Technology, second. The use of windmill energy was demonstrated long ago. Its use does not require development of a new technology, but updating and adapting an already available and masterable technology.

--Social, finally. It is a matter of bringing to the rural population a minimum of well-being and comfort. This will significantly reduce the rural exodus toward the urban centers.

Multiple Applications

As for electricity production, it would seem at first glance that our average wind speeds would be inadequate for rapid or aero-generating windmills. In fact, everything depends on the use and destination of this electricity, on the one hand, and the installation site, on the other. Large-scale electricity production is ruled out, for the present, by the lack of adequate and meaningful meteorological data on the wind patterns and lack of knowledge about potential sites, which must be researched and inventoried. Nevertheless, small-scale electricity production as an independent source can be envisaged. It would be intended for small communities, isolated population for which electricity supply would be at prohibitive cost or that may never receive system power. Also, there are a multiplicity of other applications such as charging batteries, operation of beacons, lighthouses, telecommunications stations, etc.

On this level, the use of small aero-generators is effective and within our capability. Delivered power would be on the order of 100 to 1,000 watts. We can say that mastery and use of wind energy will enable development of a scientific and technological research with induced effect in which numerous sectors of agriculture, water management, transport, heavy industry, health, trade, and energy will be involved and concerned. The conversion of wind energy will offer interesting possibilities, and for some uses, such as pumping water, it may prove--now or in the future--to be the most suitable energy source of all those available. Its multiple advantages are:

- Saving of foreign exchange by reduced imports;
- Rapid communication between the supplier (the producer) and the consumer, resulting in:
 - A specific system conforming to local conditions;
 - Reduced price;
 - Elimination of middlemen and import of spare parts;
 - After-sale service and available spare parts;
- Creation of Jobs;
- Promotion of capabilities and development of national potentials;
- Firm availability of an energy source in numerous localities when liquid fuel may be lacking;
- Saving of fuel and energy, and thus foreign exchange.

Its promotion through a state subsidy could enable its expansion and use on a large scale. The country already has a windmill pumping unit at Laghouat. Because it is simple, it could be put in wide use rather rapidly.

<u>Station</u>	<u>Volume/hours/year</u>	<u>%</u>
El-Golea	7,302	83.3
H. Messaoud	6,675	76.2
Batna	6,654	76.0
El-Oued	6,381	72.8
Biskra	6,186	70.7
El-Bayadh	6,024	68.7
Laghouat	5,937	67.7
Bejaia	5,904	67.4
Ouargla	5,757	65.7
Ghardaia	5,016	57.2
Annaba	4,749	54.2
Bechar	4,560	52.0
Algiers	4,539	51.8
Oran	3,819	43.6
Miliana	3,531	40.3
Setif	3,201	36.5
Mascara	3,195	36.5
Skikda	3,102	35.4
Tebessa	2,739	31.2
Constantine	2,733	31.2
Tlemcen	1,626	18.6

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EGYPT

PRIME MINISTER MEETS WITH PORT SA'ID BUSINESS LEADERS

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 834, 7 Jan 85 pp 34-35

[Text] Last December 23, Port Sa'id celebrated its national day and victory day at the same time. Prime Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali attended as the representative of President Mubarak, accompanied by the minister for economy and finance [as published]. This was an occasion for studying the most important problems which the Port Sa'id free zone is encountering, which have been brought out by the business and political leaders of the city, and which were no exception to what was published in AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI immediately before the holiday.

The prime minister and the minister for the economy expressed understanding of the problems, and gave assurance of continuation of the open door policy and its flourishing in Port Sa'id, provided it participates in positive, productive development.

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, minister of the economy, announced that the ministry was preparing a report for presentation to the Policy Committee, to improve the course of the Port Sa'id free zone experiment, after listening to its most important problems.

The prime minister gave assurance that the future of Port Sa'id as a free zone does not depend on the decision of only one minister, or even the prime minister himself, but that all of this is bound by the fixed policy of the Higher Committee for Policy. He also promised an objective study of the memorandum of the ministry for the economy.

During the recent meeting of the prime minister and the minister of the economy with the industrialists and financiers in Port Sa'id, the resolve of the government to solve the problems which have accumulated over the past years became evident in the form of continuation of the open door policy and the free zone, continuation of the investment projects, and guaranteeing continuation of its activity for the welfare of the national economy and the welfare of its owners.

But it is not enough now to just write down solutions to the problems which have gathered over the years; rather, a more distant view is desired, to guarantee no repetition of these errors, though doubtless some of the problems

resulted from the shortcomings, intentional or unintentional, of project owners. But it is not possible, in any case, to excuse the Investment Authority from responsibility, when it neglected completely to assess proposed projects submitted to it, or to follow them through implementation.

As mentioned in the meeting of Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, minister of the economy, with the Port Sa'id business leaders, most of the problems encountered by the free zone projects can be summarized in the reasons set forth in what follows:

--The inability of some projects to produce or operate, such as the 58 warehouses which did not fulfill the conditions of suitable activity, due to the incompatibility of their activity with the regulations of the law on investment, or because of the issuance of economic decrees regulating their operation.

--In spite of the ability of a number of other industrial projects to produce, they certainly run into difficulty marketing their production, domestically or abroad, due to the lack of adequate studies dedicated to examining conditions of production and marketing, or to change in political conditions in the areas. The manufacturing projects which suffer from this include all the ready-made clothing factories in the free zone, numbering four factories.

--Some of the manufacturing projects withdrew after their establishment, because the Investment Authority discovered that their activities were not consonant with the economic climate of the free zone. Some of the owners of projects were eliminated for the same reason, including those of the pre-fabricated housing factory, and the floor-tile factory, whose owners dropped out and left Port Sa'id completely.

--The demand of not a few of the projects for a change from the public investment system to the private investment system, because they were unable to operate within the framework of the regulations and methods of the public free zone and due to the simplicity of the provisions of the law on private investment and its many advantages, given its distance from the complications which they suffered for a long time.

--A complaint by some owners of projects about the failure to achieve the appropriate commercial profit, due to application of the regulations of the law on investment of Arab and foreign money, which specify payment of land rental in dollars, and their calculation of the value of electricity at international rates, such as the cement plant project in the free zone. The minister of the economy commented on the complaint of its owner, that cement is known to be a poor commodity, and its manufacture incompatible with the conditions of a free zone.

--The Investment Authority's failure to follow up on the establishment and implementation of investment projects in a serious way led to liquidation of a group of companies owned by an Arab, when the banks undertook to confiscate the group for non-payment of debts, which amounted to about \$12 million, which the Arab investor had received as credit facilitations to begin the group. The Investment Authority was taken by surprise by his suspension of payment of his

debt to the banks, and his fleeing the country with most of the money. Perhaps the most important thing about this is the Investment Authority's discovery that the assets of the group did not exceed \$3 million.

--Economic adequacy. All of these problems reflect the inability of the projects to realize the commercial or national benefit that was pictured when they were created.

--It is impossible to excuse the Investment Authority from responsibility for this negative result, since it is not only responsible for approval of projects proposed to it, but its responsibilities extend to evaluating the projects, assuring that they have assets sufficient for success of the projects when they begin, and that they are in conformity with national goals and in agreement with the national plan for social and economic development. This has been realized in only two areas in which the Investment Authority has responsibility:

First Area

Ascertaining the commercial profitability of a project. This is, firstly, profitability of the investment as a measure of profitability on materials used in the project, aside from the factors of monetary financing for the project, or its sources; and, secondly, financial and accounting analysis of the project to guarantee implementation of the project with the given financing, through all of its stages, and continuing this on the basis of an annual accounting of the project's budget.

Second Area

Examining the national benefit of the investment project, by considering the contribution of the project to the welfare of the community, and the extent of its contribution to the social services of the workers and their dependents; or, more precisely, the extent of the contribution of the project to realization of the basic goals of development, whether social or economic.

It is desired, then, that the Investment Authority assess the investment project at each stage, from the first step of preparation, through all phases of construction, and that the Investment Authority's responsibility for assessing the construction phase continue, so as to verify its soundness, based on the study of its benefits, until implementation and production begin.

What confirms this is that if the Investment Authority had reached the point of evaluating seriously each investment project in the Port Sa'id free zone, and undertook to follow the project step by step, by means of a special agency established for this purpose, it would have been able to avoid at least 90% of the problems which have blocked the success and flourishing of investments in the Port Sa'id free zone for more than 6 years.

Perhaps the final step in this regard, for the sake of enriching the Port Sa'id free zone experiment and moving it forward, would be to change the board of directors of the free zone, and to rejuvenate it with economic specialists capable of understanding the task in the free zone and of overcoming obstacles which prevent its advance and development.

All of this is for the benefit of the Port Sa'id industrial free zone, to realize the development and prosperity of all of Egypt.

EGYPT

PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY MINISTER INTERVIEWED

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2952, 7 Jan 85 pp 20-21

[Interview with Tawfiq 'Abduh Isma'il, minister of state for People's Assembly and Consultative Council affairs, by Sana' Qabil; date and place not specified]

[Text] My conversation with Tawfiq 'Abduh Isma'il, minister of state for People's Assembly and Consultative Council affairs, was not limited to throwing light on the most important parliamentary events of 1984, nor to "gossip" about the Assembly in the new year. Rather, it expanded, spontaneously, from the role of administrative control to the socialist prosecutor, from the Office of Injustices to the personal status laws from the housing crisis to tax evasion, from developing our national resources to nuclear reactors.

[Question] What, exactly, is the "role" of the minister of state for People's Assembly and Consultative Council affairs?

[Answer] It is a number of roles, including attendance at the meetings of the cabinet, which reviews all of the "legislative actions" proposed to the People's Assembly and the Consultative Council; keeping in contact with the members of the two bodies and their various committees; transmitting to them a picture of what I expect of the discussions and opinions of the cabinet and the ministerial committees about any bill.

I follow any interpellation or inquiry, and I amend the necessary complete statements, and collect them from the relevant ministry. Occasionally, if the situation is important, I contact the head of government, and I act as deputy for him or for any particular minister in "the reply" when circumstances of illness or work abroad prevent their attendance.

Also, whenever a specific topic is debated in the Assembly and diverges onto another topic which requires clarification of the government's policies, or clarification of statements or events, or explanation of the "position" of the Assembly on any idea which is submitted to the government, I intervene according to my judgment and express an opinion on the degree of suitability of the "idea" for application, study, comment or amendment. I am charged with its delivery to "those responsible" for its study, and for demonstration of the facts. I inform the Assembly--after this has been done--of the facts.

Also, I am responsible for communication between members of the two assemblies and the various ministries, and for collection of statements exchanged among them. Most of these are people's complaints which the members have taken on. Previously, members of the People's Assembly had to leave the Assembly to meet with ministers. Now, the ministers come before the sessions, with enough time to meet the members, and to debate the complaints and grievances of the masses. Or members go to see the ministers at appointed meetings, or they leave [the complaints] in my office, and my office is charged with submitting them and receiving the replies to them.

[Question] Is the activity a replacement for the "Office of Injustices"?

[Answer] There are many means and channels by which to present the complaints of citizens: through the presidency, the cabinet, every ministry and agency, the governorates, and the Legislative Authority Administration for Proposals and Complaints. As for us, we receive complaints from members of the People's Assembly and the Consultative Council only, and we see them through to the end.

It has not escaped us that the number of complaints and grievances has become very serious, due to the Egyptian government administration's backwardness, after having assumed many responsibilities regarding the citizens. Consequently, its interference in their normal life, pursuant to its constitutional responsibilities, has increased. This also is a result of the citizens' decreasing "consciousness" and awareness of their rights and responsibilities.

[Question] Draft bill are sent to the Consultative Council. Is its opinion consultative or legislative?

[Answer] According to the constitution, its opinion is consultative. But the constitution also requires submission of clearly defined laws, like draft laws related to the constitution or laws based on it, so that they are not nullified before the courts.

[Question] How does the Consultative Council have legislative authority--as in the case of the senate before the revolution?

[Answer] The experiment of the Consultative Council has lasted 4 years, and there may be thought about developing its role before the current session's end (6 years).

In my opinion, the system of the two assemblies is not the ideal system for developing countries, when the cultural and educational level is low. We cannot compare our current situation with that before the revolution. Before the revolution, not many citizens had the right to vote. Rather, before 1924, in the days of the Consultative Council on Laws, the right to vote was limited to village leaders and shaykhs. To a large extent, the nomination was assigned, except for someone who depended on his attractiveness or popularity with the masses, such as Sa'd Zaghlul. Today the situation is different. We have 14 million voters, and their number may shortly reach 26 million, with a base of 50% workers and fellahin. We must consider this issue long and thoroughly before rushing heedlessly into a two-assembly system, because it has blocked progress.

[Question] Is our experiment on its way to a bicameral system?

[Answer] Yes, but on the basis of experience and known boundaries.

[Question] Might it be canceled?

[Answer] It is possible.

[Question] In a few words, what is the "function" of the socialist prosecutor?

[Answer] Those legal matters which the public prosecutor cannot handle are turned over to the socialist prosecutor, such as cases pertaining to economic matters and corruption, like acceptance of key money. The socialist prosecutor follows the relevant procedures in his investigations. Even the court to which the case is assigned is not completely a judicial authority. Three of its members are justices and three are common people, mostly university professors or former judges. They have political and popular sensitivities. Also, its decisions are not judicial; by which I mean, it issues a judgment of sequestration against a citizen and his property for a fixed period of time, if it was obtained by illegal means, or it bans a citizen from political activity if there are political judgments against him. If the prosecutor or the court finds that what is discovered is a crime, it is turned over to the office of the public prosecutor.

[Question] Isn't this a duality in the judiciary?

[Answer] Indeed, it is a duality. But it is governed by the law, and ultimately the authority of the public prosecutor is decisive. Moreover, the authority of the socialist prosecutor is limited.

[Question] It is said, however, that cases themselves are turned over to the socialist prosecutor, especially important cases, in order to issue sequestration orders against someone for a period of a year or more, and then to release them, or for indemnification of some people from normal legal prosecution. But that in little cases, such as that of a small embezzler, the person is sent to the public prosecutor to be imprisoned. What is your opinion?

[Answer] Absolutely not. The truth is, it happens just the other way around. The court of values stirred up many accusations about a number of ministers. They left their posts, and had recourse to the regular judiciary for their hearing. Their cases were suspended.

The assignment of a case to the socialist prosecutor does not mean the public prosecutor does not have contact with it in what follows. It is possible for the prosecutor to execute legal proceedings when, after the socialist prosecutor's investigation, he thinks there are still crimes. If the public prosecutor ascertains this, the [socialist prosecutor's] office stops--completely--the conduct with its proceedings.

[Question] Are there not issued--occasionally--directives to the public prosecutor not to oversee a case personally, and to transfer it to the court of values?

[Answer] No one has that right. On the contrary, the cases against which the public prosecutor can not take legal action are referred to the socialist prosecutor, such as the trade in currency in the banks. How would the public prosecutor prove this? But it is possible for the socialist prosecutor to direct "suspicion" of harming the national economy against the perpetrators, even if it is not a crime under the penal code.

[Question] We went on to touch other aspects of our problems currently being debated in the galleries of the People's Assembly. What about the debate in the Assembly on the law of administrative oversight?

[Answer] One member discussed the procedures of the administrative oversight law, such as search and arrest, and [said] that they are in conflict with the constitution. Other members replied to rebut him, noting the inaccuracy of his statements. Currently the suggestion is being studied that administrative oversight be subordinated to the People's Assembly as the central agency for accountability.

[Question] What is the story of the "outcry" concerning the nuclear reactors and burial of their waste?

[Answer] There are studies dating to 1959. Actually, we contracted to build a reactor for power generation in 1964, and if not for the "freeze" in our relations with America at that time, it would have been built, at Sidi Karir. We did procure a reactor for scientific research in 1967.

[Question] An important question--does the nuclear program have urgent necessity or not?

[Answer] In a few words, available sources of power, from rivers, sunlight, gas, and coal--even by the early 1990's--will not be sufficient for us. There is no substitute for nuclear power.

As for radiation leaks, no one has died, until now, from radiation, because of a 100% level of safety, though 1500 people died in India from the escape of gas used to make insecticide.

[Nuclear] waste is not a problem. It will be buried deeply, at 200 meters. Disposal has been difficult until now, but its existence there is an advantage, because it might be usable in some way or other in the future.

[Question] Good. Who is undertaking its operation--Egyptians or Americans?

[Answer] We have hundreds of Egyptian experts in atomic energy, spread throughout Switzerland and America. They will return if there is a nuclear program.

[Question] Will Israel, which destroyed the Iraqi reactor, accept the presence of nuclear reactors in Egypt?

[Answer] Iraq's reactor was for research; our reactor is for the generation of electricity. We are participants in the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. Israel wants its own reactors, and does not have the right to strike this or that.

[Question] What was the most important parliamentary event in 1984?

[Answer] The elections by proportional list, because they brought the largest number of opposition members into the Egyptian parliament that it has witnessed in its history. Rather than the opposition being limited to 2 members only--as has happened sometimes--there are currently 64 opposition deputies, approximately 14% [of parliament].

[Question] Is your approach a study "idea" and evaluation of the list system?

[Answer] The idea of an evaluation exists. We have 5 years in this legislative session for this. We do not forget that there is a case concerning the law before the constitutional court.

In general, the withdrawal of two opposition parties from the elections was not caused by the list. Rather, the list system distilled a true representation of the people that would not have been distinguished if the elections had been on an individual basis.

[Question] What else about 1984?

[Answer] The law on taxation for the development of revenues, which was offered by a consensus between the government and the opposition. In accord with it, fees for work permits, foreigners' residency, workers' travel abroad, and some customs duties increased.

[Question] But this causes problems for citizens.

[Answer] The law was in existence before, but it had not been applied for a long time. This was the secret to the problem. Currently, the way the law is applied is being amended, to facilitate matters and to make it easier on citizens.

[Question] Is this the only way to increase the nations' revenues?

[Answer] Under the Egyptian system, it is the easiest means. We raised taxes progressively, but did not realize returns, because there are many ways to evade them and means of information are limited. Application of a tax system relies on the "awareness" of the citizens. The reason for evasion, previously, was the lack of feeling by citizens that what was collected from them would be spent on objective works only. We neglected utilities for a long time, but in the current plans, we concentrate on utilities, so the citizens can feel an improvement in services.

EGYPT

COMMENTATOR DISCUSSES NATION'S INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 27 Dec 84 pp 1, 3

[Article by Mahfuz al-Ansari: "Men, Money and Business: A View from Abroad for the New Year"]

[Text] We are saying farewell to one year and greeting a new one. Everyone aspires, with his hopes, for a new year to come that will be better than the last, for a future which will bring more assurances and comfort and the alleviation of much suffering and torment, where trust and cooperation will prevail.

It is the aspiration of all of us that the hope in the future will be realized through work, not through indifference, evasion or the imposition of our deficiencies and mistakes on other people's shoulders.

Work is the focal point of the conversation today, since the watchword of the era is production.

As long as the economy, with its various features, ramifications, problems and crises, is the protagonist, it is the beginning and end of the issues and the problems.

The economy, in brief, is the way out or the predicament.

Our lead into this difficult, complex discourse is the meetings, encounters and symposia which are taking place every day.

These are at the highest levels of power, and the president takes part in them himself.

In the framework of the executive system, the head of this system, the prime minister, takes part in them.

Then they include the competent agencies of the government, bankers and businessmen.

Monitoring economic activity and the meetings and encounters taking place on the issue of the economy, it is clear that there is a group of indices and

items of evidence -- a serious desire on the part of the government to advance the wheel of work and production in every way to compensate for what has gone by, confront the challenges of the future, and reduce the burdens of a difficult present which is afflicting a class it has become customary to call people with limited incomes, or in a more proper sense, people with incomes that are "officially" set:

Pecurrent complaints on the part of financiers and businessmen, and people who represent them, revolving for the most part about a single matter, which is the restrictions and obstacles obstructing private sector activity.

A response to many demands and observations which the representatives of the private sector present by eliminating some laws, alleviating procedures, granting many concessions and asserting that promotion of the production process can occur only through harmonious, coordinated and homogeneous movement between the two wings of the "economic structure," the private and public sectors.

Then, after this, there remains one phenomenon, or observation, which people are trying to promote, the absence or loss of trust on the part of private capital, which prefers to run away or shrink from entering into experiments "whose consequences are not assured," as they keep saying as they advance this allegation.

The fact of the matter is that one can only admit that this campaign, or these rumors, if it is proper to describe them as such:

Have succeeded in putting everyone in a defensive position.

Have managed to create a general impression that some aggression has occurred against the private sector and the people in it.

And that what is needed first of all is to eliminate the aggression against this sector and facilitate its activities, after which billions and projects will flow, welfare will become widespread and problems and crises will flee and scatter before the light of the truth. To give evidence of this situation, I will present a short story; Mr Kamal Hasan 'Ali, the prime minister, tells the story.

He relates that an old friend of his came to visit him, telling the prime minister the story of his success in the world of money and business, inside and outside Egypt.

Then after presenting his story he goes on to review some opinions and recommendations from the prime minister's friend which could achieve progress and prosperity for Egypt and prompt capitalists and businessmen to vie with one another to invest in Egypt.

After the friend had finished presenting his recommendations, conceptions and opinions on the reasons why the resurgence was obstructed and capital was prevented from coming into the labor and investment market in Egypt, Mr Kamal Hasan 'Ali stated, plainly and calmly, "All these recommendations and

views which I have presented are decrees and laws which have been adopted and have actually been carried out."

However, the unfortunate thing is that the drama does not end with the story of the old friend but rather is being repeated, repeated in a broader, more important framework, because the meeting here was not with two friends but between two institutions.

The government, represented by the prime minister, again, and some of his aides in the form of the ministers concerned with finance, the economy and administration;

And the Society of Egyptian Businessmen.

In just the way the first story started, the same scene is being repeated with the second story.

Mr Sa'id al-Tawil, chairman of the Society of Egyptian Businessmen, at the conference the society organized and in which the prime minister and his assistants took part, presented a broad review of the economic situation and the role of the private sector. He talked about obstacles to production and addressed himself to the labor law (and disguised unemployment). He complained of what he called "disruptions in economic legislation," administrative oversight and criminal responsibility, which were of an obscurity that marred legislation concerned with the economy and the market, and conceptions which kept this legislation from realizing its ends and marred other items of legislation.

In his statement, the chairman of the society also raised many demands and recommendations, some related to an appeal for further exemptions and facilities in the areas of registration levies and taxes and exemptions from income tax.

Through the review he presented on problems and resources, Sa'id al-Tawil raised a group of demands and recommendations which in his opinion represented the optimum means for solving all the private sector's problems.

Then came Kamal Hasan 'Ali's turn to reply to the statement the representative of the Egyptian private sector had made.

The prime minister recited the group of decrees, measures and laws that had been amended in order to give the private sector a full opportunity to play its part in development and construction.

What Kamal Hasan 'Ali declared, it turned out, went beyond what Sa'id al-Tawil had asked for.

The question the first story, and the second story, raise, is, what is the meaning of the two stories?

What is their significance? What do they bring out?

Do the meaning and the significance lie in the existence of some gap, somewhere, preventing the flow and smooth circulation of information, measures and laws so that they do not reach the people who are concerned with them and interested in them?

Are they a desire to criticize and create problems, crises and issues that do not exist and on which we may ultimately pin a decision not to participate and work productively, so that we can devote all our time to speculation, brokerage, working as agents and smuggling and trading in money?

Or is there a missing link which has disrupted the connection between decisions and the authority to issue the decisions and carry them out, the intermediate executive agency?

That is, we are living on separate islands, everyone in his own world, without contact or connections.

The decision begins and ends the day it is issued and remains the prisoner of files, file departments and drawers, with no way to get out into the world of application, the world of light.

One cannot rule categorically in favor of the one possibility or the other. It is difficult to favor one reason so that we could advance it at the expense of the other. However, some facts and items of evidence remain, represented by the important role the media plays in this regard. It is true that the government does not issue its decrees and laws secretly, especially since attempts and appeals are made to encourage private capital and people who own capital to enter into the field of business and production. However, it is also true that there are people who insist on casting doubts about everything and on spreading about chaos, and apply pressure in their writings, people who seek to turn the facts upside down and distort them, people who present the private sector as if it were a "martyr" being prosecuted and surrounded by forces of evil from every side.

There are people who are holding an auction over the businessmen themselves, people who in their allegations and demands, in their articles, go much farther than what the owners of money or businessmen are asking or hoping for, and are calling for the abrogation of everything and the opening of all doors without limits or restrictions; there are people who remain fixed on slogans and statements of a bygone era, whose proponents have transcended them, and which no longer have any existence in the world of today.

These people continue to keep saying "let him work, let him proceed" without restriction or condition, in a world governed by crises, governed by struggle, governed by lethal competition which requires intervention and protection, lest everything be lost.

Since we have come close to this foreign world which we want to resemble and whose contents we want to take, because of its progress and success, and since we have reviewed some stories, which we offer as testimony and use as evidence for what we want to advocate:

We will present another story for the same purpose, in order to give testimony and evidence.

The story is from Europe.

Its protagonists, 22 in number, are considered the biggest industrialists and businessmen in the countries of Western Europe.

The volume of sales of the companies and factories these 22 people own and operate is \$200 billion a year, that is, 200,000 million dollars a year.

The 22 businessmen and financiers are not of course government men. They are not contaminated by any of the suspicions directed at officials. However, they all share a single character or two:

They are all Europeans.

They are businessmen and financiers.

They also share a feeling of distress, or perhaps contempt, that their venerable continent, Europe, is declining, falling behind the cavalcade, slipping into the rear guard, behind the big powers of the era, in spite of all it has offered and achieved.

This strange (positive) feeling has prompted them to desire to do something.

They decided to meet, and chose Paris as the place in which to meet, around a "round table," which is the name they gave their "seminar" or society.

With the utmost frankness and from the position of distinctiveness and ability they possessed as individuals, they discussed the condition of the European continent, its economic crisis, the problems of money-losing companies and ways of remedying them, unemployment and the remedy to it.

They addressed themselves to something that was more important:

The technological decline that had befallen Europe.

The terrifying progress that America and Japan had realized in precision industries, electronics and space sciences. The Japanese and American invasion of the European market was not absent from these people's minds.

The protective measures and restrictions Tokyo and Washington impose on European products and goods so that they would not enter the former or latter market were not lost on them.

The round table meeting raised a simple, clear, specific watchword: to build Europe, to bring back the age of revival and resurgence.

The people who met did not ignore any small detail of the crisis and the European retrenchment.

They did not become immersed in illusion and they were not inebriated by the glories of the past, when Europe ruled the world and colonized it for centuries.

They put the labor system and competence, the training and preparation of personnel, on the table.

They probed deeply into the issue of loyalty.

Loyalty in its greater, more comprehensive sense.

Loyalty to work, first of all.

Loyalty which in part is made up of concern for work and preservation of it.

Loyalty to Europe, by returning it to its status through production that is distinguished by proficiency, quality and development, so that this production will be able to engage in competition, any competition.

Loyalty to customers and clients, in the sense of attention to the client, concern for him and contact with him by offering a commodity which meets all his demands and needs and which in turn will create loyalty on his part toward it.

At this meeting, which everyone who met agreed would be periodical, a new star appeared on the European stage, the director of a Swedish automobile company named Guillenhammer.

Guillenhammer was Europe's prime advocate in the meeting. He was the person with ideas, initiatives and recommendations.

He exploited his massive reserve of success in the company whose administration he has assumed for 10 years to move into the heart of the job of making the new project, building up Europe, a success.

He recommended that Europe be shrunk in half: not by eliminating deserts, seas and forests and not by removing the poor people in its countries from the scene of action and progress:

But rather by reducing distances and shortening time. His approach in that would be to build roads and tunnels and construct bridges. His approach would be to build a new train which would reach a speed double that of the current rapid trains.

They agreed to allocate \$50 billion to this beginning; it would be spent over a period of 20 years, during which a tunnel would be built beneath the waters of the channel, linking Europe to the British Isles.

Another tunnel would link Germany with the Scandinavian countries. At that point the barriers of time and distance would fall, as well as the natural barriers between the countries of the continent, and trade among the people and countries of the continent would flourish. Movement, contact and common

action would be facilitated. Guillenhammer was not dreaming or immersed in optimism; the profits of his company this year came to \$1 billion; last year they were just \$500 million, five hundred million.

It is not true that we have departed from context by dwelling on the narration of some aspects of this story, as some might think. This story, with its meanings and morals, is the heart of what I have been driving at.

It did not take an invitation from an official or government for the European initiative on the part of European businessmen, in order for them to think about building up their countries and their continent.

Their appeal was not a manifestation of fanaticism or a broad generalization which it would have been better to confine to the framework of a country, each country in isolation.

It is a realistic appeal, an appeal cognizant of the magnitude of challenges, cognizant of the grandeur of responsibility, founded on the real nature of resources.

In all this, it was aware that a country by itself, confronting the American Japanese challenge in its public, government, context or its private context, the native or private sector, could not confront or compete, and first and last would be destined to lose the contest.

There is no approach except through collective action, the mobilization of all resources, money, powers and minds to start the process of reviving and building which would compensate for the past, catch up to the cavalcade and supervise the dimensions of further progress toward the future.

Europe, which is seeking to confront the danger and accepting the Japanese American challenge, is not locking itself up in frozen molds or theories which have been discredited by the tremendous progress in all things, communications, transportation, science and space, progress in the technology of war and peace.

This progress, through which new laws, new criteria and new values have been born, is urging us not to be frozen and live in the molds of the right and the molds of the left which time has obliterated.

This is the picture which Pierre Joxvoix, the French minister of finance, a socialist in a socialist administration, recently obliterated by his statement "We are working on behalf of strong economic development in France. This development requires two motive forces!

"The first is an increase in exports.

"The second is investment. Exports require that we meet specifications which will stand up to international competition -- quality, precision and price.

"Investments mean our need for money on easy terms.

"France has a masive reserve of productive resources which will attract foreign investors."

The socialist minister went on to say "Recently a number of measures have been taken to facilitate procedures for foreign investors, I have reduced the obstacles standing in their way and I have left them the right to choose projects in which they want to work, among those that are available. On top of that, I have greatly facilitated measures bearing on the surveillance of exchange activity and the movement of money, although I have fully believed that there is always a contradiction between:

"The policy of open borders, on the one hand;

"And the surveillance of the movement of foreign currency on the other."

Meanwhile, Pierre Jouvoix, the French socialist, adopted these measures which "economic realism" or what in France they call "socialist pragmatism" had dictated, although on their surface they contradicted the acknowledged socialist "molds."

We find Guillenhammer, the Swedish capitalist, adopting measures running counter to his "camp," permitting a broad area of participation in the administration and management of activity.

He, a capitalist, was the first person to get two workers included on the board of directors of his capitalistic organization, so that it then became binding legislation in his country, Sweden.

It is the French socialist, who, in terms of form, is moving to the right, in the direction of facilitating and easing the motive force of the economy.

It is the Swedish capitalist who, in terms of form, is moving to the left, to guarantee good performance and link the system of work to loyalty.

The movement of both flows in a single channel, which is the public interest, economic good health.

The emergence from crisis, in the case of the Frenchman.

The guaranteed continuation of success, in the case of the Swede.

To conclude, is it possible for us to go back where we began? Is it possible for us to aspire to an Egyptian-Arab "enthusiasm" which will start with Egyptian businessmen first then expand to include Arab businessmen, and will review the pitiful Arab state of affairs, review the resources and the wasted powers?

Review the backwardness, decline and deterioration and be angry over their Egyptianness, their Arabness, as the 22 Europeans of the "round table" were angry?

Shall we hope that Egyptian businessmen will distance themselves from complaints and from comments on shortcomings, will fail to seek out pegs on which to pin illusions, and will, jointly, turn toward productive, creative work? Shall we hope that the level of government performance will rise, obstacles will lapse, and red tape will be reduced?

That the abyss of corruption will be prosecuted, not just by penalties but also by clean places of work, reasonable wages and services that have been made easy?

Shall we broach the subject from the beginning, talk about Arab resources, and state that the resources and magnitude of the Arab world, which occupies more than one-tenth of the world's area, 14 million cubic meters [sic], which is inhabited by about 190 million people, which contains in its soil the greatest reserve of oil energy in the world, and whose surplus oil money deposits constitute a reserve which is indispensable for the major countries, are not in keeping in any way with its role, status and level?

And that this world depends for its food, most of its food, on the outer world and annually imports grain worth more than \$8 billion?

And that the difference in incomes among the individuals and countries in it is terrifying, since these range from \$314 per year per capita in Somalia, the lowest income level;

To \$31,175, thirty-one thousand, one hundred seventy five dollars, per year per capita in the Arab Emirates, where the per capital income level is the highest?

There is no doubt that people do not appreciate going back to the beginning, and we have come to the end of the statement.

However, the basic issue remains -- the issue of the nation, the small nation and the great one in the world of the big, in the world of major problems and massive challenges, in the world of crisis.

No solution and approach can come about except through major solutions, collective solutions, public and private participation.

Domestic participation and nationwide participation.

The ship will not sail, the plane will not take off, the bird will not fly, except with its two wings, its two sectors:

Its public sector.

Its private sector.

It is not a matter of a desire to accept or reject but rather of an essential inevitability dictated by reality.

EGYPT

TAX DEPARTMENT PLANS MAJOR EXPANSION, CAMPAIGN

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 23 Dec 84 p 4

[Article by 'Abdallah Nassar: "The Supervisor of the Tax Department, in a Conversation with AL-JUMHURIYAH: A Competition for the Appointment of 3,000 People to the Tax and Customs [Departments] in a Few Days"]

[Text] Kamal Hasan 'Ali, prime minister, has agreed to a recommendation by Dr Salah Hamid, minister of finance, to establish 10 higher positions in the Tax Department, in order to find place for higher leadership personnel who are promoted from the grade of general director to that of deputy minister and are to be transferred to retirement in periods ranging from 4 to 5 months, so that it will be possible to benefit from their expertise and assign leadership positions in the main sectors to the people chosen to occupy them on the basis of competence, expertise, and remaining years of service.

The Ministry of Finance is announcing a contest to appoint 3,000 graduates of law and commerce faculties in the classes of 1982 and 1983 to [the Departments of] Customs, Tax and the Budget.

Mahmud Sa'id, supervisor of the Tax Department, declared that no restrictions would be placed on appointments of women to tax officials' positions, that coordination would take place between the tax offices and the Anti Tax Evasion [Department] in prosecuting evaders and preventing speculation and that a meeting would be held for this purpose in a few days.

The Tax Department supervisor said that the approach in prosecuting tax evaders would be through the application of declarations of wealth and the performance of additional assessments on evaders.

Mahmud Sa'id, who was recently appointed supervisor of the Tax Department, is facing big challenges, the most important of which are means for realizing administrative and technical reform within the Tax Department and confronting the backlog of files. The most important issue is how to convince people working in the Tax Department that he has come into their midst for the purpose of reform, that he does not have the intention of settling accounts with anyone, leaders or employees, and that that could work to bring

about stability, cope with cases of administrative laxity and set out a strategy for the department which would include maintaining rates of performance at the desired level.

New Appointments

In the headquarters of the Tax Department, this conversation took place on the period to come in the Tax Department.

[Question] Is the Tax Department in need of new appointments in order to cope with the backlog of files in a manner that will lead to competent tax collection?

Mahmud Sa'id said, "At present preparations are being made for an overall situation which the Ministry of Finance is drawing up, to appoint 3,000 people who graduated with good degrees from faculties of law and commerce in the years 1982 and 1983. The contest will consist of an examination on general information on tax and customs legislation in a manner which will guarantee that the ability to absorb this legislation and apply it exists among the people applying for this examination. They will be redistributed among the Tax, Customs and General Budget [Departments] on the basis of the ranking of grades on the examination and the grade level in the bachelor's degree."

Stopping the Drain from Taxes to Customs

[Question] Will this new system lead to a curb on the drain of people working in taxes to jobs in the Customs Department?

He said, "Certainly. It was observed that whenever the Tax Department declared a competition to appoint tax officials, after they were appointed it would be surprised to find most of those people submitting applications to it requesting transfers to the Customs Department, in the context of acts of mediation and intercession which occurred; however, the new system will make appointments to every area where it has requirements."

[Question] Will women be allowed to apply for the competition? Directives were issued 2 years ago prohibiting appointments to tax officials' positions in the case of women.

He said, "There is no intention of putting restrictions on the appointment of women to tax officials' positions, and they will be allowed to apply for this competition and all coming ones."

Transfer to Retirement a Few Months after Promotion

[Question] In recent years the Tax Department has been facing a problem where higher leadership personnel, especially at the rank of deputy minister, are transferred to retirement approximately 5 to 6 months after being promoted to these positions. How is the work plan in the department being executed in light of this situation?

He said, "That is a fact. A statistical study was carried out which revealed that most general directors entitled to promotion to the grade of deputy minister would be transferred to retirement in approximately 5 to 6 months, so how could we assign these people to a work or reform plan whose execution would take years within the offices or programs? It is not possible to infringe on their employment conditions during this period, because promotion is a right of theirs. Therefore, Dr Salah Hamid, the minister of finance, recommended that 10 higher positions be established under the title 'consultant' so that a place could be found for higher leadership personnel who are transferred to retirement a few months after promotion, they could be assigned some technical jobs within the department and issues which occupy the attention of the department for study, and, if any of them succeeded in solving them, he would receive worthwhile compensation. They are people with expertise which can be used, provided that the chairmanship of sectors and other executive positions be left to people who have expertise which will enable them to carry out the assignments given to them. The prime minister has given agreement to this recommendation, and contacts are being made with the Central Organization and Management Agency to establish these new positions."

5 Million Pounds for Administrative Housing

[Question] How does the Tax Department cope with the problem of administrative housing and the unsuitable system for keeping files as a result of the shortage of space, though they contain taxpayers' secrets?

He said, "5 million pounds have been allocated to the purchase of housing units for offices, and this is actually being done, although not in the optimum way. However, at the same time we will seek to resettle the people and tax offices in buildings which are now available to the Tax Department, while using locked rooms in which idle furniture, old files or refuse is stored. At the same time, we will be trying, at a subsequent stage, to form a committee to set out a future conception of the model tax office and the form this office must assume, provided that agreement be made with the armed forces to build the buildings for the Tax Department. This could be done in record time."

Cases of Aberrance in the Tax [Department] Are Isolated Ones

[Question] Sometimes some people make charges aberrance against tax officials. Is that a common phenomenon?

He said, "No, it is absolutely not a phenomenon. The cases of aberrance in the Tax Department are isolated ones and they are prosecuted. The chief of one office was transferred to the office of the administrative prosecutor because of the things attributed to him, and this was received with extreme satisfaction by his colleagues, because they they were content with this penalty, because aberrant persons harm everyone, and the majority are honorable and honest. Therefore the cases of aberrance in the Tax [Department] are isolated ones."

Coordination between the Anti [Tax Evasion Department] and the Offices

[Question] In many cases, signs of misunderstanding and lack of cooperation have appeared between tax offices and the Anti-Tax Evasion [Department]. Is there any intention to have coordination?

He said, "Yes, and therefore I have decided to hold a meeting which will be attended by all anti tax evasion leaders and heads of tax districts to set out a system for cooperation and coordination. We will come up with such a system after bringing the viewpoints of the two parties closer together."

Applying Declarations of Wealth

[Question] The story of millionaires in Egypt and people who earn and do not pay is being repeated a great deal. How can one cope with this, and how can the money due the government be collected in a way which will achieve social justice?

He said, "How can we rule that one person or another is wealthy, or owns wealth, except by applying declarations of wealth? In the event there are new elements of wealth which the taxpayer neglects to mention in his declaration, an additional assessment will be made on him."

Note: The application of declarations of wealth requires that the Tax Department review the application of the new declarations taxpayers present on the previous declarations by 1987. In accordance with Law 157 for 1981, the declarations are to be submitted within 6 months of the date of the issuance of the executive bill of the law. The bill was issued in May 1982. The declarations are to be submitted every 5 years.

No Appointments from the Consumer Tax [Department]

[Question] Have some employees been appointed from the Department on Consumer Tax, which you head, to the General Tax Department, to assume some leadership positions?

He said, "Not at all. Just two experts in administrative affairs were appointed to perform some jobs. It is not true that people working in the Consumer Tax [Department] think about joining the General Tax [Department] and if that is requested by any of them that will be rejected because the benefits there are better."

[Question] Does a crisis exist between the League of Tax Officials and the department and Ministry of Finance?

[Answer] This crisis has ended, harmony has been restored, and everyone is working to achieve stability within the department.

EGYPT

PROMINENT RELIGIOUS SCHOLAR DISCUSSES ISLAMIC ISSUES

Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic No 686, 9 Oct 84 pp 28-31

[Interview with Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazzali: "Our Avoiding Political and Social Resistance Is a Betrayal of the Nation"; date and place of interview not given.]

[Text] Arabs in 21 states cannot get together; there is no harmony among them because some regimes are Communist and secular; others think only of their own territory and their own history.

How long will the enfeebled agencies of the Muslims continue to work on the fringes of this religious while orientalist and [Christian] missionaries have 300,000 spread out over five continents?

Biographical note [Box on p 29]

Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazzali was born in 1917. His strong attraction to Islam appeared when he memorized the Qur'an at an early age. He graduated from al-Azhar in 1941 and is considered a pioneer of the modern Islamic movement in Egypt and in the entire Islamic world as well.

He has contributed his intellect, his thinking, his tongue, and his pen for more than half a century. Shaykh al-Ghazzali has had bouts and rounds with orientalist who have tried to distort the picture of Islam. He has enriched Islamic libraries with the juice of his thought as well as with commercial proceeds in the form of books which are indispensable to the historians of contemporary Islamic missionary activity. These books frequently differ with the writings of others. These lacked experience, but prescribed medicine for each ill. Shaykh al-Ghazzali confronted contemporary intellectual issues, among the most important of which were the separation of religion and state, and he was the first to warn against the danger of political tyranny. Shaykh al-Ghazzali is credited with a total of 36 books, which deal with such topics as ideology, Islamic missionary activity, thought, culture, biography of the prophet, and others. Among his books are "The Ideology of Islam," "Islam Beset by Communists and Capitalists," "Islam and Economic Conditions," and others. The

interview with Shaykh al-Ghazzali covers many points. He explains the danger of culture invasion, and he differentiates between this and simply making use of the sciences of the West. He attributes the backwardness of the Muslims to their preoccupation with trivialities. He compares the agencies of Islamic missionary activity with the proselytizing agencies of the West. He answers the questions as to why the disaster befell the Muslims, and he gives examples from military history, which Muslims must study in order to learn from experience and not let these lessons go to waste.

Armies of Orientalism and Evangelism, and Confronting Nature

[Question] There is no doubt that Islamic missionary activity, without benefit of government effort, has reached central, south and east Asia and is now in many countries in Europe and America. These individual efforts, however, are really of limited use and I am afraid that we are overestimating them and harming ourselves when we think that we are getting at our enemies, when in fact we are doing nothing. We would like your eminence, with the judgment of one involved in missionary activity, to compare the efforts and capabilities of the Muslims in Islamic missionary activity with the capabilities of non-Moslems and their efforts at propagating their religions and their beliefs.

[Answer] The Muslims have official agencies for missionary activity, but unfortunately they are enfeebled agencies, working on the fringe of Islam. Their people work in missionary activity or in preaching and soothing hearts sometimes, while they are ignorant of the social and political issues which link the future of Islam to progress on the face of the earth; nevertheless, the feeling of the Muslims that missionary activity is a duty incumbent on all capable Ulema and spokesmen prompts the people who are enthusiastic about their religion to make heroic efforts in order to defend Islam on some occasions and to propagate the call to those who are ignorant of it at other times. Our enemies have proselytizing agencies which include an army of perhaps 300,000 spread out over the 5 continents. They have leaders who write reports and they have conferences for missionaries and for orientalists in which they meet and study what they have done. They know the obstacles facing them and the particular places in the Islamic front which have to be struck as they draw up plans which suit the times. Consequently, Islamic missionary activity agencies, when measured against the agencies opposed to Islam, count for nothing. Were it not for the fact that Islam relies on sound nature and pure reason and were it not for the fact that it is the religion of God, who has decreed that it shall continue for all time, it would not have endured this long. As God says, "He is the one who has sent his messenger with guidance and the religion of right so he can show it to all the other religions even though the idolatrists detest this." [Qur'an, Surahs IX: 33 and LXI: 9]

Defeat of the Muslims

[Question] The West reached this stage of scientific progress, whereas we are the basis of civilization and we have the instructions from heaven. So how did this defeat befall the nation of Islam?

[Answer] The defeat came from the fact that the Muslims have not heeded their religion's teachings, which instruct them to look at the world, probe the earth, fly up into the heavens, and dive into the sea and land. The Muslims read this in their book, but unfortunately were unable to apply it. God says, "Have you not looked at the Kingdom of Heaven and the earth and what God has created?" [Qur'an, Surah VII: 184]. Nevertheless, the Muslims have not looked and have not thought. So what has happened?

(Responding to his own question, the Shaykh continues) What has happened is that Westerners, or those who are of a hostile mind, are the ones who have been doing the thinking and this has resulted in the discovery of dangerous facts and has achieved significant results, culminating in the conquest of space, the launching of spy satellites, and the manufacture of arms. They used them for their false principles, and this is the catastrophe. Those who came with their religion thought about the invisible things. In so doing they forgot to think about the world of witnessing or about the world of sense. They passed it by, and their resultant intellectual harvest was trivial. As for the others, they came up with heresies, made discoveries and exploited; the result was that whenever they met Muslims in battle they beat them and the Muslims would lose. This is the reason I said that it was a tragedy that physical knowledge fell into the hands of those who are worthless and have no beliefs.

Material Goods Plus Rationality Equals Culture

[Question] Can the reins of culture be moved from the hands of the West to others?

[Answer] The West is undoubtedly based on a materialist philosophy absorbed with enjoying the world. Westerners seldom believe in the hereafter or preparing for it. The work of the celestial religions among them is extremely slight and has no impact in changing this reality. Here is something, however, we must know: the materialism of the West has a way of thinking which will never move the reins of civilization from the hands of the Westerners to the hands of others if these others are weaker intellectually; it will simply remain in their hands despite their worldly desires and materialist philosophy, and as long as the Arabs and the Muslims, for example, are too weak and insignificant for their hands to take the reins, which search for someone to take hold, then this injustice will continue as long as the righteous can do nothing.

Does History Repeat Itself?

[Question] Jerusalem fell to the Crusaders and remained under their control for nearly 90 years; nevertheless, the political and religious leaders of the Muslims did not accept this and refused to give in. They relied on God and decided to resist their enemy at all costs, until Jerusalem returned to them. Will history repeat itself again and will Jerusalem and the lost property return to the Arabs?

[Answer] What we must know is that the European opposition which marched on the Middle East in those days was no small matter. All of Europe

(Germany, Austria, Spain, England, France and Italy) had divisions which fought and kings who gathered men around them. They wanted to establish a Latin state in Jerusalem and they did so. But the Muslims at that time refused to accept a fait accompli and they rejected a disgraceful surrender. They decided to fight and this war lasted 90 years, until Jerusalem returned to the control of the Muslims. Although Jerusalem was a city of enormous religious and historical value, other great cities remained in the hands of the Crusaders, including Antioch, Beirut, and Akka. Many principalities and ports were controlled by the crusaders, but the Muslims were able to recover them one by one until they defeated their enemy. The basis was religious effort, persistence, refusing to despair, and rejecting worldly pleasures. If right does not bring people together, falsehood will divide them; if sincerity does not bring them together, worldly pleasures will divide them. This is what we fear for our nation.

Muslim leaders such as Salah-al-Din and others relied on religion in sharpening zeal and closing ranks in the case of Jerusalem, for example.

Similarly in the case of the fall of Baghdad, the Muslims were able to defeat the Tatars decisively, and this had long-range historical effects. Baghdad fell in 656 [1258 A.D.] and the day of its fall resounded throughout the Arab east and the Arab west because for more than five centuries it was the premier country in the world; therefore, people were completely convinced that the Tatars were invincible, just as it is said that the Jewish army is invincible. However, by the power of God, by the majesty of Islam, by the history of our men of glory whose virtue had to be known, the year 656 ended with the fall of Baghdad, but only 2 years later, in the year 658 [1260 A.D.], the Tatar army met its fate at the hands of the Islamic army at the battle of 'Ayn Jallut. It should be known that Islam was the cry of victory. The Egyptian army and numbers of people were in a frenzy imagining that the Tatars were invincible. When the two armies met, this illusion would have taken hold of the Egyptians if their commander, Qutuz, "Conqueror of the Tatars," had not thrown down his helmet and let out a cry, "Oh, Islam," which was heard by the entire army; this cry was the key to victory. The change began and the Tatars could not hold out. History repeats itself but only by the same unchangeable moral and religious realities. The Muslims were victorious on the day they were able to stick to their religion, but were defeated on the day they betrayed it.

The Muslims and the Phase of Insignificance

[Question] There is no doubt that the Islamic nation is now passing through one of the most difficult stages it has ever gone through in its long history despite its optimism at the outset of the 15th century. We said then that a great Islamic consciousness was taking hold of Islam to the east and west and was on the verge of turning a new page for our nation. Please shed some light on this difficult phase. Is there hope for a new recovery?

[Answer] Our enemies are clever and crafty; they tried their best to subvert this revival which appeared at the outset of the 15th century and

they tried to subjugate it and lead it astray. Therefore we found the Islamic nation between the Atlantic and India facing social, cultural and political problems which cannot be contained. We look at the nation and what is around it and we find only enemies lurking and opponents plotting against it and wishing it evil. Nevertheless, vigilant youth and men of zeal established defensive positions and they were able to ward off evil from Islam, but we are not able to ignore what we faced last year. Zionism was able to pour into Lebanon and inflict enormous casualties on the Palestinian opposition and it plots with the Crusader forces which hate our religion and our history. Our nation has begun to face slaughters and tragedies, but it cannot unite to confront these opponents which have surrounded it and appear intent on destroying it.

Complete Responsibility

I do not want to hold the enemies of Islam solely responsible for what has happened, nor do I want to say what some say, that the solution to our problems is one hundred percent in the hands of this state or that state. Instead, I say quite frankly that no one else can solve our problems; if we can change ourselves and what is in us, then the atmosphere around us will be changed and the pains which have afflicted us will ease and the results which have eluded us away will come near. The main thing I want to point out is how the tragedies which befell the Muslims took place. Nevertheless, the general preoccupation has not been with what is sure to come or with the hatred for us which is expected.

Instead, unfortunately, many people have been preoccupied with their own cares and problems and there were those who looked at the pains and defeats which occurred and minimized them, none of which they can change. This, in my view, is the true defeat. The nation which is accustomed to feel this while confronting the most evil tragedies cannot expect good from God, for God helps those who help themselves and rescues those who feel that they are in danger.

As for those who do not sense the enormity of the dangers surrounding them, one should not ask good for them. Our avoiding political and social resistance is actually treason against the Arab nation and is cooperation with its enemies, enabling them to strike their blow, which falls into a cold body or into an entity which feels nothing. As Abu-al-Tayyib [Ahmad Ibn Husayn al-Mutanabbi] has said, "The contemptible can easily take contempt; the dead do not feel the pain of a wound." [Panegyric to 'Ali ibn Ahmad al-Murri al-Khurasani, verse 6]

In view of the situation of the Muslims and the Arabs at the present time, there is no Arab nation which is faithful to its neighbor except for a small number of states which have brought together joint interests or one destiny.

But the Arab League is made up of 21 states, among which there cannot be true harmony and necessary mutual support, if some of them are communist, some of them think along secular lines, and others think only of their own territory and their own history, and so forth.

How can the nation get together while these concepts and this psychological imbalance disrupt their ranks and come between them?

Religion and the Ability to Defend

[Question] What then is the solution?

[Answer] We must seek true guidance and return to our religion; our religion must support us and we must resist our opponents. In this situation, we must learn from religion how we should close the gaps which have occurred among the Arabs and which divide them. We must learn from our religion how to fill these gaps. If the Muslims get together and become one entity, then they would be better able to face the enemy who seeks to get them.

I also direct the attention of Muslims to a fact which cannot be dismissed. If religion in the view of many guarantees Paradise for people by strength and good works, then religion in the condition which we are passing through is not only a guarantee of Paradise, but is also a guarantee of our freedom, our dignity, and our continuing ability to resist and struggle against our enemy in this life.

If religion among our enemies is an ability to attack and get angry, then let the religion in our front be able to continuously defend and resist.

Shaykh al-Ghazzali concluded: The Arab nation must swallow its pains and recover the sad memories it is going through, not cry over them, but to derive from them energy or fuel which will move it to demand revenge or recover its rights, resist the enemy, and recover what it has lost.

We have great hope for the future, which we look forward to, and we have great confidence in God because our nation has gone through bitter circumstances and defeats in the past; nevertheless, it licked its wounds, resisted what befell it, and was able to conquer its enemies and take from them what they had usurped from it.

All of our history is filled with these facts; so our nation must pull together and close ranks, have a single goal, rely on its Lord, change what is in itself, and adhere to the instructions of our religion. It will thereby be possible to turn the tables on the enemy.

Finally, we thank his eminence, Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazzali, for his kindness in answering our questions, and we call upon God to realize the hopes of those who call for all the good the Muslims deserve. May the peace of God and His blessings and mercy be upon you.

6945

CSO: 4504/67

EGYPT

CRACKDOWN ON TORTURE OF PRISONERS PRAISED, UNDERLINED

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 22 Dec 84 p 12

[Article by Kamil Zuhayri: "Through the Keyhole"]

[Text] Human rights are on everyone's tongue. However, the stipulation in the constitution that concerns them is not sufficient, because the constitution's provisions are just lines and words; laws are issued to put these lines into practice. Laws may produce material which people do not yearn or hope for. The law might turn the constitution's provisions upside down and the government might adopt in law what the constitution gives. The constitution and the laws are not sufficient, either. Aware, stimulated public opinion is necessary in order that the constitution and the law together may be protected.

Most constitutions, including the Egyptian constitution, stipulate that the torture of prisoners and people detained in prisons and penitentiaries is not to be allowed. The Egyptian constitution considers torture a crime for whose punishment there is no statute of limitations and which society does not forgive.

I read the report of the Amnesty International organization, which won the Nobel Prize for seeking to mobilize world public opinion against infringements of human rights. The organization's report for 1984 contains a record of human rights conditions in 42 African countries, 22 countries in North and South America, 21 countries in Asia, 18 countries in Europe and 15 countries in the Middle East and North Africa. Some governments refuse to permit the Amnesty International organization to investigate, perform research or even talk with them about human rights. Two Arab governments are among them.

Egypt allowed the organization to come in May 1983, the government exchanged letters with the organization and the organization's delegation met with the minister of state for foreign affairs, the public prosecutor, the socialist prosecutor and the director of the Prison Department in May 1983. The report recorded that there were four cases where the courts awarded sums ranging from 20,000 to 40,000 pounds to four citizens for compensation for torture. We must record this in favor of the Egyptian judiciary.

However, the issue is no longer compensation for people who are subjected to torture after it has taken place. People can lose their lives because of it, or it can cause harm. The issue is that we should apply the constitution fully by prohibiting torture. There is a reasonable recommendation which I heard in the committee on freedoms of the Arab Lawyers' Federation transferring prisons to the Ministry of Justice in order to ensure legal guarantees. The position of the Doctors' Union in Egypt on compelling its members to respect the honor of the profession and the mission of mercy and avoid silence on any instances of torture is an honorable position and a human obligation, and part of the morality of the profession. The executive committee of the World Health Organization in January 1979 ratified the principle of doctors' commitment to protecting prisoners from torture and brutal treatment, and the council of international organizations of medical sciences presented this resolution to the United Nations, which approved it 2 years ago.

Torture must disappear and anyone who is responsible for it must be held accountable, because it is a crime for which there is no statute of limitations and a venal sin which permanently mars the reputations of governments.

11887

CSO: 4504/160

LIBYA

LIBYA'S FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 356, 7 Jan 85 pp 16-17

[Article by al-Salami al-Hudni; place and date not specified]

[Text] When a European who has followed Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's policy for years was asked his opinion of the Libyan president's ideas and policy, he unhesitatingly answered:

"What is surprising about Colonel al-Qadhdhafi is the complete ease with which he moves between his position as head of state, whenever he wishes, and his position as one of those who strive, like the leaders of the students revolution that swept through Europe in the 1960s, to imitate the major world leaders." This comment is also applicable to Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's recent travels to the cities of the Mediterranean, when he moved from Greece and Malta to southern Spain (Palma on Majorca). The Libyan president was searching for a new Mediterranean initiative now that he has abandoned the Saharan initiative and the controversy over it since the signing of the unification agreement with Morocco. Did Colonel al-Qadhdhafi travel to Greece just to meet French President Francois Mitterrand and discuss the future of Chad? Did he travel to Malta just to study bilateral relations with the island? And, finally, did he come to Spain (the visit was not announced until he arrived there) to meet Felipe Gonzalez? Then to declare in the homeland of the Spanish leaders that the Moroccan cities of Ceuta and Melilla are Arab cities? Those who follow the activities of Colonel al-Qadhdhafi might ascribe these movements solely to the announced objectives if Colonel al-Qadhdhafi by his unification agreement with Morocco had not voluntarily withdrawn his support for the Polisario front after virtually all the front's weapons were coming from Libya, if he had not asked France and agreed to annul the agreement to dispose of the Chad issue, and, finally, if there had not appeared in the Libyan capital indications that the Libyan approach in Africa, except with respect to Sudan, had for all practical purposes been abandoned. So what, specifically, does Colonel al-Qadhdhafi want? Is there a new Libyan policy for the Mediterranean basin region that includes the renunciation of what was previously described as the Libyan president's Saharan policy?

Many report from Tripoli that the Libyan president is greatly disappointed with the African continent because Libyan investments in the black continent

have not brought him reasonable profits. However, Libyan trading companies are still active, as they have been since the time of King Idris. All that has happened is that Colonel al-Qadhdhafi brought them together in a single Libyan foreign investment company. It is quite likely, however, that the Libyan president was unable to make any progress in creating a Saharan republic extending from Libya through Mali and southern Algeria to Mauritania. Feelings of disappointment crept into al-Qadhdhafi when he failed to become president of the OAU 2 years ago. At that time he began to search for the causes of the failure of Libya's African policy. Then, when the labyrinths became too confusing for him, he set up two organizations to study aspects of Libyan foreign policy and devise new methods (of implementing it). The first organization is the Committee for the Evaluation of Libyan Foreign Policy under the chairmanship of 'Abd al-'Ati al-'Ubaydi. The results of its studies confirmed the failure of Libyan policy in Africa. The second organization is the Center for Strategic Studies attached directly to the offices of Colonel al-Qadhdhafi with official headquarters in Benghazi. However, it shifts continuously with him. Its mission is to formulate the general lines of Libyan foreign policy and present the studies (oral) to the colonel. Through the combined efforts of the two organizations new guidelines were developed for Libyan Foreign Policy a list of whose concerns is no longer headed by the African continent and the major Saharan tribes, the Touareg in particular. Rather, it has acquired other concerns directed toward the north because Colonel al-Qadhdhafi, perhaps under the influence of the two organizations, discovered that the focal points of the struggle do not revolve around the greater Sahara, which divides Africa into black and white spheres. Instead, they revolve around the coasts of the Mediterranean.

The new Libyan policy relies on places of support and places of tension just as it did before with respect to the African continent. The centers of support are Morocco, Malta, and Greece, while the centers of tension are Egypt and Palestine (that is, the PLO) and Algeria. Between these areas are regions regarded as capable of undergoing change, namely, France in particular, Tunisia, Italy, and Spain. Sudan is viewed as an exception because Libyan foreign policy considers Sudan to be an appendage of Egypt and, consequently, to be dealt with as such.

The new Libyan policy is based on the assumption that the United States is trying to dominate the Mediterranean basin through its Sixth Fleet. While this is not new, the Libyan policy planners did not flee from the reality of American aggression against Libya's Gulf of Sirte and, consequently, everything that follows from this principle constitutes quite simply merely reactions to such aggression. Although American policy has changed in the Mediterranean region, as it has in the rest of the world, it relies more on the religious struggle than on military confrontation, that is, on the creation of centers of religious influence that surround the Soviet belt, as is the case in Iran, Poland, and Afghanistan, in order to use Christianity, Islam, or any other religion as a screen in the face of the Soviet current within what has come to be called "the deterrent equal to military force.

Libyan policy in the Mediterranean does not appear to have taken into consideration these changes. Rather, it has been content to rely on a previous American policy that the Reagan administration began to abandon several years ago in favor of a policy of religious confrontation in Asia, Africa, and even Europe, that is, on the very borders of the Soviet Union, and maintain military tensions only in Latin America. The result is that the new Libyan policy produced wrong results, for it supports the dissidents in southern Sudan not to disturb al-Numayri but to strike at Egypt from the south. It tries to create a new PLO and foment a revolt against 'Arafat. In addition, it supports Khomeyni in Iran despite the fact that Khomeyni himself does not hesitate on every occasion, suitable or not, to revile al-Qadhdhafi. With the repetition of these Iranian statements that oppose al-Qadhdhafi, the latter was compelled to threaten to establish relations with the Iranian opposition. In point of fact, he sent a delegation to some Iranian resistance groups, which stipulated that Libya announce openly its condemnation of the methods used to the Iranian authorities against the opposition and its insistence on continuing the war against Iraq. However, al-Qadhdhafi chose not to meet this condition.

The new Libyan policy still believes that support of religious movements, with the exception of the Muslim Brotherhood - is a factor likely to incite a revolutionary movement in the Arab homeland. But more important than that is the fear that reliance on this mistaken principle has brought the new Libyan policy into conflict with the American policy of stirring up and using religious and racial sectarianism to confront the liberation movements as well as the Soviet Union. Thus, as far as the regions in the Mediterranean basin capable of undergoing change are concerned, the new Libyan policy relies on threats to use minorities and separatist movements.

Corsica and the rest of the colonies with regard to France, armed organizations with regard to Italy, the separatist Basque organization with regard to Spain, and, finally, with regard to Tunisia--only as an example--the use of such well-known personalities as Masmoudi on official missions. With regard to the centers of tension, Libyan policy proclaims its opposition to some countries openly and without fear of reactions.

So most of those who follow Libyan policy now maintain that Colonel al-Qadhdhafi is currently repeating his travels between the Mediterranean countries in relying on some friendships, exactly what he did at the beginning of his African and Saharan initiatives with his travels through the countries involved. No one knows, perhaps the methods that failed in the Sahara will succeed in realizing Libyan ambitions in the Mediterranean. Also, who knows, perhaps such success will depend on how much Washington will allow and on the extent to which the Libyan Center for Strategic Studies takes note of the new changes.

5214

CSO: 4505/170

KUWAIT

UPCOMING ASSEMBLY ELECTION ISSUES, CANDIDATES VIEWED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 92, 12-18 Jan 85 p 22

[Text] The countdown has begun for the public parliamentary elections in Kuwait. With the date of these elections approaching, the campaign battles are intensifying and the political atmosphere is heating up in correlation with the movement of the political conflict between groups competing for seats in the National Assembly.

The follower of social and political developments in Kuwait can understand how important democracy is to the Kuwaiti people. The establishment of the National Assembly was considered a turning point in Kuwaiti political development, which has differed in many instances from the political development of other countries in the Gulf region. The Kuwaiti people's attainment of an advanced stage of parliamentary life is also considered to be a natural evolutionary process because democracy has been practiced in this small society since 1963.

This society has been accustomed to practicing democracy in the diwaniyah--the smallest of parliaments, which is held at the neighborhood, family and government levels.

At this time the scheduled date for the public elections is still 23 February. This date is ideal from both the constitutional and legislative standpoints because the constitutional term for the current assembly ends on 8 March and, constitutionally, when a new National Assembly is elected in Kuwait the government must be dissolved and a new government formed. It would be unreasonable to form a government in less than 15 days. The new National Assembly must convene its first session, according to the constitution and internal regulations, 15 days after the announcement of the results of the election. In this session the government and the assembly take the constitutional oath of office. Therefore, 23 February is, in principle, the best and preferred date to hold the elections, but the deputies in the National Assembly prefer another date, and they have their reasons. They would like to advance the date to 19 February because 23 February falls on a Saturday and the day before this, Friday, is an official day off. Saturday would also be an official holiday because of the elections, and 25 February is also an official holiday because it is Kuwait's national day. The Sunday that falls between these two holidays is also a holiday, and on 26 February

the school spring break begins. Therefore, the elections would fall during these vacations and the Kuwaiti citizens would use this time to travel abroad or to go out into the country, set up tents and enjoy a trouble-free time in a natural setting.

For this reason, the assembly deputies fear that these holidays will affect the outcome of the elections because some citizens will not participate in them for the above-mentioned reasons. The past few days have witnessed consultations between the assembly and the government on this matter. The chairman of the National Assembly, Muhammad Yusuf al-'Adsani, however, has informed AL-TADAMUN that these consultations have not yet achieved results. He hinted that the government is adhering to its position on the schedule for the elections.

The Ministry of Interior has officially announced the new list of voters. The total number in all areas of Kuwait is 56,848 voters, distributed among 25 voting districts and 50 deputies who will win in these elections.

It is noteworthy here that before the dissolution of the National Assembly in 1976, there were ten districts and this was modified to 25 while there was no assembly. The number of voters per district is not equal, in fact, not even similar. For example, in district 13, which is called the al-Ramisiyah district and which is the largest district in terms of the number of voters, there are 3,809 voters, whereas in the smallest district there are 1,317 voters. Yet each of the two districts will elect two deputies.

The upcoming elections will be different than the 1981 public election. The distribution of seats in the National Assembly in the next legislative session is expected to differ from the current makeup of the assembly.

The chairman of the National Assembly, Mr al-'Adsani, expects that between 40 and 50 percent of the current deputies will be absent from the upcoming elections. Observers of the trends of the political battles expect that candidates of the nationalist or, more accurately, progressive movement will fare well in these elections, since they benefited from the first experiment and the new distribution of the districts. They have also benefited from the political developments that have emerged in the region.

It is not expected that the success of some of the candidates of the progressive trend will be at the expense of the bedouin deputies, however. Rather, the contest will be between the religious and progressive groups. It has been clear up to now that the progressive candidates are achieving great progress in building a popular base, particularly among the Kuwaiti youth who are looking for new political horizons away from tribalism, subservience and factionalism.

There are candidates who enjoy tribal roots but who refuse that their election campaign be based on tribal support. For example, there is Dr Khalid al-Wasmi, who is a current deputy and belongs to the largest tribe, the 'Awazim. Although he could win easily if he made himself a candidate of the 'Awazim, he would rather be the candidate of the awakened and progressive

youth and he proposes sophisticated political ideas. The al-'Awazim tribe has nine deputies in the current National Assembly, whereas there are six from the al-Matran tribe, five deputies from the al-'Ajman tribe, three deputies from the al-Rashayidah tribe, two from the al-'Anazi tribe and one each from the al-'Utaybi, al-Dufayri and al-Fadli tribes.

We find, therefore, that there are 27 bedouin deputies in the current assembly compared to 27 deputies from the city. These latter include three deputies who can be said to represent the Chamber of Commerce and Industry point of view, four Shi'ite deputies including the Minister of Communications 'Isa al-Mazidi who has announced that he will not be a candidate in the upcoming elections, three deputies that represent the religious groups and three other independent deputies who support the religious movement in the assembly.

Several new political and social phenomena that have appeared in public life in Kuwait during the term of the current assembly will affect the upcoming elections. The most important is the difficult economic crisis that Kuwait is experiencing. The "Suq al-Manakh" [stock market] crisis was considered the spark and the most important reason for this crisis. The political developments resulting from the Iran-Iraq war and the imposition of a new social reality that these have led to is another phenomenon. In addition, the fragmented Arab situation will reflect negatively on the political scene by curbing concern for pan-Arab issues and unleashing regional concerns.

12608

CSO: 4404/166

KUWAIT

SIGNIFICANCE OF SOVIET DELEGATION'S VISIT ASSESSED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 91, 5-11 Jan 85 p 14

[Text] On 18 December two important messages were sent from the two highest authorities in the Soviet Union to the two highest authorities in Kuwait. These two messages enjoyed the attention of political observers, especially that of foreign diplomats.

A senior Soviet delegation representing the highest legislative authority in the Soviet Union (Council of the Supreme Soviet) began its official visit to Kuwait and initiated the visit with a meeting with the Amir, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah. This meeting was followed by another meeting with Crown Prince and Prime Minister Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah Salim al-Sabah.

In the first meeting, the chairman of the Soviet delegation, (Mr August Udarovich), delivered a message to Amir Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad from Soviet leader Chernenko. In the second meeting, Mr Udarovich delivered another message to the crown prince from Soviet Chairman of the Council of Ministers Tikhonov. The contents of the messages have not been revealed, which has made observers and foreign diplomats grasp for any bit of information on this matter. It has also left them guessing and analyzing.

This delegation included eight legislators and two important Soviet political officials in addition to Mr Udarovich, a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Nikolay Mislakov, the chairman of the Planning and Budget Committee of the Supreme Soviet; and Kurban Abasov, the deputy chairman of the Energy Council. The circumstances the Gulf region is experiencing increase the importance of this delegation's visit. Because of developments in the Iran-Iraq war and the threat it poses to the other Gulf states, this region has become the core of the Middle East problem. The visiting Soviet delegation began the trip with a media blitz, giving observers a stark impression of the proximity of Soviet and Kuwaiti policies and the agreement of their positions on current international issues. Immediately upon his arrival and in response to a question from AL-TADAMUN, Mr Udarovich announced that Kuwait's policies were in conformity with Soviet international positions and he praised Kuwait's political wisdom, which he described as contributing to the strengthening and bolstering of world peace.

He said that the Soviet Union and Kuwait agree in their positions on important issues, including the necessity of stopping the Iran-Iraq war, which he described as a futile war that only serves the interests of nations that want to increase tensions in international relations. Another of these positions of mutual agreement concerns the Palestinian issue: the necessity of Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon and occupied Arab territories, the establishment of a Palestinian state, and the convening of an international conference to solve the Middle East problem. There is also agreement on the Namibia issue, racist South Africa and the issue of disarmament and world peace.

One point remained, however, over which the Soviet and Kuwaiti sides did not agree. This point, as the saying goes, "the knot that the carpenter's saw is hung up on," is the Afghanistan issue. The Soviet Union had its reasons to justify its intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan, which stretches along the Soviet Union's borders and moves it nearer to warm waters, but Kuwait had greater reasons justifying its position of calling on the Soviet Union to end its intervention in this Islamic state.

The Soviet delegation held an open meeting for discussions with a delegation from the Kuwaiti National Assembly headed by Assembly Chairman Muhammad Yusuf al-'Adsani and including Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Jasim Muhammad al-Saqr; the chairman of the Financial Affairs Committee; the chairman of the dignitaries mission that accompanied the Soviet delegation, Jasim Muhammad al-Khurafi; the chairmen of the other National Assembly committees and a number of Assembly members. In this meeting Mr Udarovich said that the United States had allocated in its current budget \$200 million to escalate its intervention in Afghanistan and support what he called the reactionary forces there.

It was as if he were trying to use this to defend the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. Chairman al-'Adsani responded by saying that America is ready to allocate billions of dollars in order to keep Soviet forces in Afghanistan, because only by keeping the Soviets there is the pretext created for the entry of the Americans into the Gulf region, which is their greatest ambition.

The visit of the Soviet delegation, which lasted about a week, was put under the microscope of foreign diplomats, especially since the Soviet officials met with most of the officials in Kuwait. In addition to their meeting with the Amir, the crown prince and the chairman of the National Assembly, they also met with Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs, Foreign Minister and acting Information Minister 'Abd-al-'Aziz Husayn; Minister of Defense Shaykh Salim al-Sabah, the minister of public health; and Minister of Planning Dr 'Abd-al-Rahman al-'Awadi. Political discussions took place in all of these meetings concerning relations on various levels between the Soviet Union and Kuwait. The discussions also evaluated the progress in relations between the two countries. One must mention here, especially in light of the delegation's discussions with the minister of defense, the weapons agreement that Kuwait concluded as a result of the official visit of Shaykh Salim al-Sabah to Moscow earlier this year.

During the government meetings held by the delegation, discussions dealt with developments in the Iran-Iraq war and the dangers it involved as well as the political situation in the Gulf region. The head of the Soviet delegation affirmed his country's support for Kuwait's foreign policy and praised the government of Kuwait's understanding of the Soviet initiative for convening an international conference to solve the Middle East issue.

Although the Soviet delegation's visit was in response to an invitation from Assembly Chairman al-'Adsani in reciprocation for the visit he made to Moscow on 25 July last year at the head of a Kuwaiti parliamentary delegation, it provoked the interest of observers of developments in the Gulf region and remains a puzzle that they are seeking to solve.

12608

CSO: 4404/166

SYRIA

GROWTH IN COUNTRY'S GROSS PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION REVIEWED

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 14 Nov 84 pp 4-5

[Article by Dr 'Abd-al-Malik al-Akhras: "Modern and Advanced Syria on 14th Anniversary of Corrective Movement; Main Features of Most Important General Indicators of Syrian Economy"]

[Text] The corrective movement led by struggler President Hafiz al-Asad represents a decisive turning point in Syria's history in particular and in the Arab nation's history generally. During its relatively short years of life, this movement has been able to make the social, economic and political changes necessary to enable Syria to assume its major role at the Arab and international levels and to move forward on the path of building and of liberation with the objective of building the society of progress and socialism.

The economic and social development course witnessed by the country in all the economic and social spheres has reached advanced stages of growth and progress during the corrective movement years, doing so within the framework of the strategy of comprehensive planning and thorough implementation of the various 5-year plans. What distinguishes the features of the development achieved under the canopy of the corrective movement with the onset of the 14th anniversary of this movement is perhaps the attention devoted to the citizen and to bolstering his role in the economic and social development process and in the rapid qualitative leaps achieved in the national economy's structure and translated through the implementation of major construction and production projects that have contributed to building a modern and advanced Syria.

The major accomplishments achieved in the sphere of government services, of health, of university education at all levels, of road, communication and transportation services and of tourist utilities and other essential services are among the most important accomplishments that have helped the country's social and economic renaissance.

The country has been able to move forward on the path of achieving a balance between economic development and social development. This balance will make it possible to speed up the pace of the comprehensive development and to lead it along the right path, thus insuring continued entrenchment of the progress and socialism line, continued movement on the path of socialist transformation, expansion of the public sector's role in leading the national economy, efforts

to streamline and enhance the capability of the resources available to the country and the utilization of these resources to serve the various spheres of development and defense in order that Syria may continue to be the strong shield fighting all forms of imperialist pressure and blackmail and so that Syria may continue to have the primary and vanguard political weight at the Arab and regional levels.

Through this quick study that deals with the progress of the most important general indicators of the development of our national economy throughout 14 years, we will try to shed light on the extent of the development and of the accomplishments achieved in the national economy's structure and in its various economic and social sectors. These major and important accomplishments have been achieved despite the difficult international economic circumstances from which most countries of the world suffer, circumstances such as the economic recession and the spread of unemployment, and despite the broad effects of the economic crisis on both consuming and producing countries and under the canopy of the international and Arab political situation and of the Israeli invasion of fraternal Lebanon and of the national and pan-Arab burdens shouldered by Arab Syria.

Following is the outcome of the growth rates actually achieved at the current and fixed prices of 1980 and of the most important general indicators and economic computations achieved in Arab Syria from 1970 to the end of 1980:

Development in Value of Gross Local Product

According to the current prices of 1983, the value of the gross domestic product in Arab Syria amounted to nearly 77.5 billion Syrian pounds, increasing by more than 11 times from 1970 to 1983, considering that the value of this product was 6,848,000,000 pounds [in 1970].

As for the rate of the development of the gross domestic product in the 1980-83 period, this rate amounted to 14.4 percent annually. This is a high percentage and developing countries rarely achieve such a high annual growth rate.

When pricing the value of the gross domestic product at the fixed prices of 1980 (which is the equivalent of 100 percent) with the aim of finding the volume of the actual quantitative growth of this product in freedom from the influences of the changes in prices, we find that this product amounted to 60,764,000,000 Syrian pounds in 1983. The value of this product nearly tripled since 1970 when it was 20,578,000,000 Syrian pounds. As for the rate of development in the value of the GDP at the fixed prices of the 1980-83 period, this rate has amounted to 5.5 percent annually. Most of the growth occurred in 1981 as a result of the good agricultural crops in that year and of the start of actual production by a number of industrial projects which entered the phase of production upon the completion of their implementation and start-up phases.

Growth of Value of GDP According to Ownership by Public and Private Sectors:

The corrective movement has devoted a special and ever-growing attention to the various economic activities of the public sector, thus enabling this sector to encompass most of the important activities directly affecting securing the population's needs from the various production and service segments. However, the public sector's development has not caused the state to abolish the private sector's role. Rather, the state has been eager to see that this sector contributes positively and side by side with the public sector to the development procession being witnessed by the country in the various spheres.

The statistics in this regard show that the public sector's contribution to the GDP in 1970 amounted to 41 percent only or 2,826,000,000 pounds, rising in 1983 to 51 percent, with the value of the GDP turned out by the public sector amounting in value to 39,384,000,000 pounds at the current 1983 prices.

In fixed prices, we find that the industrial public sector's contribution to the GDP rose to nearly 53 percent. This is a good percentage demonstrating the state's eagerness to strengthen the public sector so that it may perform its full role in the economic and social development process.

Growth of GDP According to Economic Sector

To demonstrate the growth of the GDP according to economic sector, these sectors have been divided into the following, according to the source or origin of the local component in the product:

Material Production Sectors:

Through implementation of the 5-year plans, the country has witnessed numerous accomplishments in terms of increased commodity production volumes in the agricultural, industrial, mining and building and construction sectors. These increases have been translated into the construction of numerous mining industries, in addition to the large expansion in the conversion industries and the increase in the final products that serve industry's intermediate consumption and the population's final consumption. There has also been expansion in the construction of irrigation and drainage networks and in the reclamation of cultivable lands. The building and construction sector has also experienced considerable development in the construction of housing and in the various building and construction projects.

The statistical figures gathered on the value of the GDP by the material production sectors at the current prices show that the production of these sectors rose from 3,143,000,000 Syrian pounds in 1970 to 35,239,000,000 pounds in 1983, multiplying more than 11 times during this period. The percentage of these sectors' production to the country's total GDP amounted to 45 percent in 1983. But at the fixed prices, the value of these sectors' production multiplied by nearly 4.27 times even though their contribution to the total gross local product dropped to 42 percent.

The value of the agricultural sector's GDP amounted in 1983 to 15,041,000,000 Syrian pounds, compared to 82,000,000 Syrian pounds in 1980, multiplying by nearly elevenfold. Moreover, the annual growth rate in this sector in the 1980-83 period amounted to 14 percent at the current prices. At the fixed prices, the growth rate did not exceed 0.07 percent annually.

The value of the product in the industry and mining sector amounted in 1983 to nearly 14,963,000,000 pounds, compared to 1,559,000,000 pounds in 1970, thus multiplying nearly tenfold. This sector's growth rate in the 1980-83 period amounted to 18.4 percent annually at the current prices. This is a good growth rate which demonstrates the state's eagerness to bolster the industrial sector and to secure the necessary resources for industry's constant growth in the public and private sectors. At the fixed prices, the annual growth rate has amounted to 3.5 percent.

In the building and construction sector, the 1983 GDP amounted to 4,875,000,000 Syrian pounds compared to 202 million pounds in 1970, multiplying by more than 22 times during this period. This sector's annual growth rate in the 1980-83 period amounted to more than 11 percent. At the fixed prices, the growth rate amounted to 8.1 percent annually. This is the highest growth rate achieved in the material production sectors, exceeding even the targets set in the fifth 5-year plan.

Service Sectors Connected With Production

These sectors have witnessed considerable development in the rate of their contribution to the GDP. In 1983, this rate amounted to 38 percent at both the current and the fixed prices. The public sector played a fundamental role in wholesale and retail commerce through the public organizations and companies whose activities and sale figures have risen sharply. The transportation and communication sector also achieved big development in the various spheres of transportation, especially railroad transportation in the country's various governorates.

In the financial sector, there has been development in the deposits and in the loans advanced to the economic sectors by the specialized banks. The annual growth rate in these sectors has amounted to 14.4 percent at the current prices and to 6.7 percent annually at the fixed prices. This is a rate close to the rate set in the fifth 5-year plan.

The statistical figures concerning the value of the GDP in the commerce sector show that the value of this product multiplied 18 fold during this period. Moreover, the growth rate achieved in the 1980-83 period amounted to 8.1 percent annually.

Other Service Sectors

The other service sectors include the social service and personal service sectors, the government services and the services of the non-profit organizations. As a result of implementation of the local government law, the activities of these services, especially of the government services, expanded, thanks to the

instructions and support of comrade leader Hafiz al-Asad. The spheres of university education and of education at all levels witnessed very considerable development. Expansion was also achieved in the health, culture and athletic spheres and in the tourist services at both the urban and rural levels. As a result, considerable economic and social development has been achieved in all these spheres. The contribution of these sectors to the GDP amounted to 17 percent in 1983, compared to 12 percent in 1970.

The statistics also indicate that the value of the GDP in the other service sectors amounted to 13,002,000,000 Syrian pounds in 1983, compared to 846 million pounds in 1970, meaning that this value multiplied more than 15 fold during this period. The annual growth rate in these sectors in the 1980-83 period amounted to 11.7 percent at the current prices, which is a high rate. At the fixed prices, the annual growth rate amounted to 8.6 percent which is a rate identical to the annual growth rate set in the fifth 5-year plan.

Generally, it can be said that the growth rates achieved by the economic sectors during the corrective movement have been high rates at the current prices. These rates rose at a higher pace in the 1980-83 period, which are the first 3 years of the fifth 5-year plan. These rates achieved their highest levels in the material production sector, amounting to 15.4 percent annually, followed by the sector of the services connected with production where the growth rate amounted to 14.4 percent annually. In the other service sectors, the average growth rate amounted to 11.7 percent annually.

Increase in Individual's Share of GDP

The average per capita share of the country's GDP at the current prices rose from 1,094 Syrian pounds annually in 1970 to 8,064 Syrian pounds in 1983. The average annual growth rate of the per capita share amounted in the 1980-83 period to nearly 10.7 percent. At the fixed prices, the average annual per capita share amounted to 6,322 pounds in 1983, achieving an average annual growth rate of 2 percent in the 1980-83 period.

Development in Structure of Fixed Capital

The structure of the fixed capital, representing the total sum of the real investments employed in fixed assets to increase and enhance the country's production capabilities, has achieved considerable growth, with the value of the investments rising from 897 million Syrian pounds in 1970 to 18,139,000,000 pounds in 1983, thus multiplying more than twentyfold during this period. Moreover, the annual growth rate of these investments in the 1980-83 period amounted to 8.7 percent, which is a good percentage. The public sector contributed by a large degree to achieving this growth, considering that the volume of the investments made by the public sector in 1983 amounted to 12,167,000,000 Syrian pounds representing 67 percent of the total real investments. The 1983 investments were distributed as follows over the main sectors:

The agriculture sector: 1,362,000,000 Syrian pounds.

The industry and mining sector: 5,892,000,000 Syrian pounds representing the largest part of these investments.

Transport and communications sector: 2,426,000,000 Syrian pounds.

Housing: 4,417,000,000 Syrian pounds.

Other sectors: 4,042,000,000 Syrian pounds.

Total: 18,139,000,000 Syrian pounds.

Trade Exchange With Outside World

The state devoted special attention to the foreign trade conditions by virtue of their impact on the national economy's structure in terms of production, consumption and of the development of fixed capital assets. The state is still exerting efforts to streamline the imports and to channel them toward serving the country's economy within the framework of the state's general policy in this sphere. The state is also encouraging the export of goods and services to create new markets for our local products.

The foreign trade statistics show that the volume of commodity and service imports rose from 1,432,000,000 Syrian pounds in 1970 to 1,933,000,000 Syrian pounds in 1983, multiplying more than thirteenfold [as published] in this period at the current prices. The imports annual growth rate within the policy of streamlined imports did not exceed 4 percent during the 1980-83 period. [This policy was adopted] with the aim of curtailing the import of unnecessary consumer goods and of increasing the imports in fixed assets and in semi-processed materials needed for local industries. The volume of the fixed asset imports to the total volume of imports rose from 17 percent in 1982 to 22 percent in 1983. This is a positive phenomenon achieved through streamlining the country's import policy.

As for exports, the volume of the country's commodity and service exports rose from 1.19 billion Syrian pounds in 1970 to 9,133,000,000 Syrian pounds in 1983, multiplying by more than eightfold at the current prices during this period. Even though the exports dropped in 1983 by 5 percent below 1982, mainly because of the drop in the prices of crude oil from 767 Syrian pounds per ton in 1982 to 704 pounds per ton in 1983, the country's exports of processed and semi-processed goods rose by 4 percent over 1982. Moreover, our exports to the friendly socialist countries rose considerably, amounting in 1983 to 44.3 percent of the country's total exports in 1983, compared to 36 percent in (1982). In addition, the public sector's exports rose to 89 percent of the country's total exports in 1983.

Total Final Consumption

The total final consumption includes the volume of spending on the acquisition of final consumption goods for the government and the people. It is well known that most of the government's current spending is consumption spending. In 1983, the volume of government spending amounted to 69,559,000,000 Syrian pounds, thus multiplying by more than twelvefold over 1970 when the spending volume amounted to 6,193,000,000 Syrian pounds. The consumption spending amounted to

the equivalent of 89.8 percent of the value of the GDP of 1983 at the current prices. This is a very high percentage, especially since the growth of the domestic product, estimated at elevenfold, was less than the total consumption at the current prices during the 1970-83 period.

To determine the growth of the real volume of the total final spending by the government and the people, we will analyze some of the statistical data included in the chart published on this page under the heading of "growth of the government and the people's spending on final consumption at the fixed prices of 1980."

From the chart, we notice the following, mainly:

The growth rate of the total consumption spending dropped to 7.5 percent annually in the 1980-83 period whereas it had amounted to 12.5 percent annually in the 1970-83 period. This is what the corrective movement has actually sought in recent years in order to correct the course of the final spending volume so as to achieve the biggest surpluses possible to finance the social and economic development plans and to reduce the reliance on foreign aid, funds, support and loans that cannot be considered constantly reliable sources. The corrective movement resorted to this approach when the consumption growth rate exceeded the limits set in the 5-year plans. The continuation of this policy, in addition to the policy of consumption streamlining, will perhaps have a tangible positive impact in the coming years.

The growth rate of government consumption by 10.6 percent annually in the 1970-83 period, (compared to an annual growth rate of 5.1 percent annually in the 1980-83 period), was dictated by the phase of accelerated development in the government service sectors in the spheres of education, health and tourist and recreational services, in addition to the other essential services which have had a very big impact on providing greater social welfare to the people and on securing more government services to insure social justice during the socialist transformation process witnessed by the country's economic production sectors.

The people's final consumption recorded a drop in its average growth rate, amounting to 8.3 percent in the 1980-83 period. The average growth rate of the people's final consumption is still considered among the highest rates recorded, exceeding the annual growth rate of the GDP. This drop in the people's consumption growth rate is a positive feature achieved through the controls and standards taken into consideration when the import-streamlining policy was formulated.

Generally, it can be said that the general tendency of the growth of the final total spending at the fixed prices of 1980 is considered high in light of what was achieved in the national economy's other general indicators. Curtailing the growth in this spending has become an urgent need to achieve the ideal balance with the growth of the GDP so as to secure a reasonable surplus to finance a greater degree of investment and to develop fixed capital. This is what the state is eager to achieve at present. The importation of capital-forming goods has increased, as we have pointed out in this study. Moreover,

the continued implementation of the policies and of the regulations has begun to produce good early results whose impact on the final consumption growth rates is evident, keeping this growth at acceptable rates in light of the development phase attained by the country.

To conclude, it can be said that Arab Syria has made long strides on the path of growth and development--strides reflected directly in the national economy's structure despite all the economic and political pressures to which the country has been subjected as a result of its principled and firm positions.

However, it is noticed that the non-commodity service sectors have achieved greater growth than the commodity producing sectors. Therefore, it is beneficial while we are on the threshold of the sixth 5-year plan to reexamine the structural makeup of the national economy in order to achieve a relative balance between the sectors forming the economy and to increase the share contributed by the material production process through reliance on the local resources primarily, reliance on sound planning and application of the principle of the feasibility and priority of projects with the aim of moving the economic and social development process forward in order to build modern Syria.

Chart No 1

Growth of Gross Domestic Product and Growth Rate Achieved by Country in 1980-83 Period at Fixed Prices of 1980=100

(Value in One Million Pounds)

<u>Year</u>	At Current Prices		At Fixed Prices of 1980=100	
	<u>Value</u>	Annual Growth Rate %	<u>Value</u>	Annual Growth Rate %
1970	6,848	-	20,578	-
1980	51,799	22.4	51,799	9.7
1981	66,492	28.4	57,107	10.2
1982	71,727	7.9	58,957	3.2
1983	77,500	8.0	60,764	3.1
Average Annual Growth for 1980-83		14.4		5.5

Chart No 2

Growth in Value of Gross Local Product According to Ownership by Public and Private Sectors for 1980-83 Period
at Current Prices and Fixed Prices of 1980=100 (Unit: One Million Syrian Pounds)

<u>Year</u>	<u>At Current Prices</u>		<u>At Fixed Prices</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Public Sector</u>	<u>Private Sector</u>	<u>Public Sector</u>	<u>Private Sector</u>	
1970	2,826	4,022	9,346	11,232	20,578
1980	25,625	26,174	25,625	26,174	51,799
1981	35,206	31,286	28,137	28,970	57,107
1982	35,795	35,932	29,985	28,972	58,957
1983	39,384	38,116	32,092	28,672	60,764

Chart No 3

Growth of Gross Domestic Product According to Economic Sector for Years 1970, 1980-83 At Current Prices

<u>Economic Sector</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>Year</u> <u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>Average Growth</u> <u>Rate for 1980-83</u>
First, Material Production Sectors, Including:	3,143	22,944	30,508	32,658	35,239	15.4%
Agriculture, Forests & Fisheries	1,382	10,383	12,739	13,849	15,401	14.0%
Industry & Mining	1,559	9,006	14,012	14,496	14,963	18.4%
Construction & Building	202	3,555	3,757	4,313	4,875	11.1%
Second, Service Sectors Connected to Production, Including:	2,859	19,524	25,152	26,684	29,259	14.4%
Wholesale & Retail Trade, Hotels & Restaurants	1,395	12,700	16,223	16,851	19,253	14.9%
Transport, Communications & Storage	733	3,557	4,807	5,506	5,875	18.2%
Finances, Insurance & Real Estate	731	3,267	4,122	4,327	4,131	8.1%
Third, Other Service Sectors, Including:	846	9,331	10,832	12,385	13,002	11.7%
Social & Personal Services	116	928	1,158	1,408	1,502	17.4%
Government Services	712	8,369	9,636	10,934	11,453	11.0%
Non-Profit Organizations	18	34	38	43	47	11.4%
Total of Country GDP	6,848	51,799	66,492	71,727	77,500	14.4%

Chart No 4

Percentage Structure of Economic Sectors' Contributions to Gross Domestic Product for Years 1970, 1980-83 at Current Prices

<u>Economic Sectors</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>
First, Material Production Sectors, Including:	46	44	46	45	45
Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries	20	20	19	19	20
Industry & Mining	23	17	21	20	19
Building & Construction	3	7	6	6	6
Second, Service Sectors Connected with Production, Including:	42	38	37	38	38
Wholesale & Retail Trade, Restaurant & Hotels	20	25	24	24	25
Transport, Communications & Storage	11	7	7	8	8
Finances, Insurance & Real Estate	11	6	6	6	5
Third, Other Service Sectors, Including:	12	18	17	17	17
Social and Personal Services	2	2	2	2	2
Government Services	10	16	15	15	15
Non-profit Organizations	-	-	-	-	-
Grand Total of Country's Gross Domestic Product	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chart No 5

Growth of Gross Domestic Product According to Economic Sectors for Years 1970, 1980-83 at Fixed Prices of 1980=100

<u>Economic Sectors</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>Average Growth Rate for 1980-83</u>
First, Material Production Sectors, Including:	9,879	22,944	23,806	24,408	25,121	3.1%
Agriculture, Forests & Fisheries	3,842	10,383	10,820	10,545	10,614	0.07%
Industry & Mining	5,127	9,006	9,283	9,771	10,021	3.6%
Building & Construction	910	3,555	3,703	4,092	4,486	8.1%
Second, Service Sectors Con- nected With Production, Including:	7,973	19,524	23,110	23,353	23,684	6.7%
Wholesale & Retail Trade, Hotels & Restaurants	4,796	12,700	15,336	15,470	16,023	8.1%
Transport, Communications & Storage	1,742	3,557	4,188	4,234	4,516	8.3%
Finances, Insurance & Real Estate	1,435	3,267	3,586	3,649	3,145	-1.3%
Third, Other Service Sec- tors, Including:	2,726	9,331	10,191	11,196	11,959	8.6%
Social & Personal Services	344	928	992	1,187	1,261	10.8%
Government Services	2,350	8,369	9,162	9,969	10,654	8.4%
Non-Profit Organizations	32	34	37	40	44	9.0%
Grand Total of Country's GDP	20,578	51,799	57,107	58,957	60,764	5.5%

Chart No 6

Percentage Structure of Economic Sectors' Contribution to Gross Domestic Product for Years 1970, 1980-83
Fixed Prices of 1980=100

<u>Economic Sectors</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>
First, Material Production Sectors, Including:					
Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries	48	44	42	41	42
Industry & Mining	19	20	19	18	18
Building & Construction	25	17	16	17	17
	4	7	6	7	7
Second, Service Sectors Connected With Production, Including:	39	38	40	40	38
Wholesale & Retail Trade, Restaurants & Hotels	23	25	27	26	26
Transport, Communications and Storage	9	7	7	7	7
Finances, Insurance & Real Estate	7	6	6	6	5
Third, Other Service Sectors, Including:	13	18	18	19	20
Social and Personal Services	2	2	2	2	2
Government Services	11	16	16	17	18
Non-profit Organizations	-	-	-	-	-

Growth of Government and People's Spending on Final Consumption at Fixed Prices of 1980

<u>Type of Consumption</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>Average Annual Growth Rate for 1970-83 (%)</u>	<u>Average Annual Growth Rate for 1980-83 (%)</u>
Government Consumption	3,701	11,878	12,465	13,131	13,806	10.6	5.1
Popular Consumption	8,581	33,655	43,316	40,431	42,761	13.2	8.3
Grand Total	12,282	45,533	55,781	53,562	56,567	12.5	7.5

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AFGHANISTAN

STATE PLANNING COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED ON VARIOUS ISSUES

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in Dari 14 Dec 84 p 2

[Interview with Savwar Mankal, DRA Central Committee member, deputy member of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of State Planning Committee]

[Text] Question: These days an energetic movement of voluntary and extra-effort work and work competitions has enveloped nearly all of the country's economic and production units and collectives. How would you evaluate the share of the popular masses in achieving planned goals?

Answer: The Sawr revolution, which is removing the boundless suffering of Afghanistan's oppressed masses, and is creating favorable circumstances for the unobstructed growth of the productive forces within the framework of just productive relations, has opened a vast vista of happiness and welfare for the country's workers. However, until we completely attain the goals set out in the DRA's plan of action, which are indeed the duties of this stage of the national democratic Sawr revolution, we have a relatively long and difficult road full of ups and downs lying before us. This requires an increased strengthening of revolutionary positions and strongholds.

It is on the basis of these necessities and the experiences of other revolutions and liberation and freedom movements that we continue to believe in the leading role of the new style party which leads the working class in carrying out its revolutionary duties. On this basis, our people, those who are in the strongholds defending the revolution and its accomplishments, have welcomed the anniversary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) pioneer of the working class and all the country's toilers. They have gone out to welcome it by undertaking extra and intensive work in order to speed up and further accomplish the socio-economic programs. Organization of this extra and intensive work is occurring in order to properly honor the twentieth anniversary of the party, following the declaration approved by the polit bureau of the PDPA's Central Committee. In order to make this decision a reality, the State Planning Committee, acting as the country's national economic leadership headquarters has offered guidance and prepared practical plans, and presented the commitments of ministries and bureaus to the toilers collectives to further the plan's administrative organization. In turn the majority of the ministries and organizations demonstrated their readiness to take a proper part in honoring the twentieth anniversary of the party's

founding, by making specific commitments. Some of these commitments were greater than called for in the policies adopted by the State Planning Committee.

The State Planning Committee has focused its attention in turn on raising the quality of planning methodology, planning the basic directions and methodology of the DRA's five-year plan for the period of (1986 to 1991), raising the means of control over the planning duties of responsible organs, more effective use and concentration of domestic sources for development capitalization, redistribution of the budget, raising the plan's quality and importance within the law, and spreading the knowledge of planning by holding seminars and courses. The State Planning Committee is adopting and implementing policies through its close contact with officials in the DRA's ministries and bureaus.

Question: Flaws, shortcomings and shortages in the process of implementing the plans and in economic activities are often noticed; please shed some light on this matter in general.

Answer: As we implement our planning duties, we are faced with difficulties inherited from the shameful past, such as the lack of adequate unusable resources, lack of skilled workers and manpower, we are also faced with the cut-off of assistance pledged by capitalist countries and international organizations affiliated with them, and the absence of an adequate infrastructure. In addition, the undeclared war by world imperialism and domestic reaction despite the political efforts by us and our friends, not only has not ended but has intensified. This in turn must be considered a powerful factor in slowing down our country's national economic growth. This situation limits both our planning indicators and our planning tasks as to quantity and quality in general. Nevertheless, the assistance from our revolution's natural allies, that is fraternal socialist countries and the national liberation movements, all the world's workers and supporters of peace and progress, gives us the bright prospect of building a prosperous society. We move forward on this basis of unbreakable faith and our reliance on the leading role of the PDPA, the ratifications of the national conference, the plenums of the Central Committee and the creative guidance of Comrade Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of the Revolutionary Council. Thus the work of preparing the DRA's five-year plan is now underway on an intensive basis as we follow the party's policy and in particular its economic policy. In all its activities the State Planning Committee is making an undeviating effort to keep in view the guidance of Comrade Babrak Karmal, who in the eleventh plenum of the PDPA Central Committee said: "Giving attention and care to the destiny of the revolution and the expansion of its social basis is to give attention and care to the people and their future."

The arrival of these days celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the auspicious founding of the PDPA and the commitments undertaken to properly observe the event not only double this issue's importance, but by the same measure increase the necessity for the efforts and concentration of all the material and spiritual forces in this direction. Thus, we are making an effort so that all the responsible authorities, through understanding the importance and the legality of the plan, will perform their responsibilities for plan implementation

in a better way, and act to completely and unconditionally apply the adopted policies.

Question. What major economic and productive work will be carried out to mark the twentieth founding anniversary of the PDPA?

Answer. On the basis of the commitments and the plan of the State Planning Committee, a number of projects both large and small will have gone into operation by the PDPA anniversary or before the date promised in the plan. The most important of them include: The Jalalabad olive canning factory, television relay stations in the provinces of Herat, Qandahar and Nangarhar, excavation of the remaining exploration veins in the Karkar and Dudkesh coal mine, the restoration of the Huddhayl Dam, completion of block-B of the Gozargah dairy, health-insurance polyclinics for officials in Khoshhal Khan Minah; Kabul's hospital for mental and nervous disorders; a dormitory for workers in Herat's Bagrami Wood textile mill, silo elevators in Pole Khomri and Mazar-e Sharif, a laboratory complex for useful solid materials, a dormitory for Karkar-Dudkesh workers; development of a dual-system television of Bagrami and Beh-e Sabz; complexes; four stores for the sale of consumer goods and agricultural products, repair and construction of a number of schools in various parts of the country. Construction of housing for Kabul University professors, construction of a highway department and city squares, micro-rayon's automatic (elevators), the construction of 790 residential apartments in Kabul, central heating boilers for the third section of microrayon, paving of streets in Kabul, etc.

In addition, there will be intensive work taking place to meet production indicators, particularly those indicators that include the Council of Minister's approved list. Among these indicators, which shall exceed the plan by the stated percentages, are: natural gas, chemical fertilizer, coal, woolen textile products, bread and bakery products, 10.3 percent; irrigation, 20 percent; transport and transfers, 10 percent; and printing products, 10 percent. The offices of Kalimad, Afghan Torkani, and Afghan Film Directorate, as well as the textile mills in Balkh and Pol-e Charahi have made individual commitments to exceed plan targets.

The area of non-production indicators has also been given serious attention particularly matters related to the improvement of conservation in the consumption of materials and energy, raising the level of technical and vocational knowledge among the workers, raising work output, creating various cooperatives to start up work competitions, voluntary work and socializing, establishing extra-effort work groups, improving the system of giving and receiving reports, improving the quality of radio and television broadcasts, extra publications of a number of specialized publications, holding scientific seminars and conferences, establishing competitive examinations to raise vocational skills, publication of interviews with party and state officials to explain and analyze the importance of the party's founding and propagandizing the revolution's human goals which play a great role in the realization of the plan targets. In addition, definite work has been assigned in the organizational area.

Plan targets will be exceeded by 5 percent in goods for foreign trade and by 20 percent in distribution of retail goods. The government has also purchased and sold 5,700 tons of vegetables as well as 9,000 tons of fruit in order to meet the people's needs. Also a number of light industries and food-stuff factories have been supplied with energy and material.

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CSO: 4665/11

AFGHANISTAN

WORLDWIDE DEMONSTRATIONS MARK ANNIVERSARY OF OCCUPATION

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 29 Dec 84 pp 1, 28

[Text] Afghan refugees have engaged in demonstrations throughout the world.

While the Muslims from various countries accompanied Afghan refugees last Thursday in extensive protest against the military occupation of Afghanistan and the slaughter of the people of this country by the Soviet army, the reports from news agencies indicate that the occupying forces in Kabul went into readiness, fearing the attacks of the Muslim revolutionaries on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the occupation of their country.

Meanwhile, it was announced in Pishavar that the Afghan Mujahidin had killed more than 20 soldiers of the Soviet invading forces in a series of night operations in Kabul.

Demonstrations in London

On the fifth anniversary of the military occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, a group of Muslims residing in London engaged in protest demonstrations and marching in that city. According to a report by the CENTRAL NEWS UNIT and the KEYHAN London office, in this march, the demonstrators' slogans condemned the bombing of populated civilian areas, the massacre of the residents of the cities and villages, the destruction of villages and the creation of millions of Afghan refugees by the Soviet Union. The demonstrators marched from the central park of London to the Soviet Embassy, shouting the slogans: God is great, There is no God but God, Mohammad is His Prophet, Victory belongs to God, (long live Islam), Neither East nor West, Islam is the best and Holy war is the best way to liberate Afghanistan. They condemned the military interference of that country in Afghanistan.

In a six-point resolution, which was issued at the end of these demonstrations, the killing of the women, children, and civilians of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union was condemned and the unconditional departure of the Soviet occupiers from Afghanistan was demanded.

Bangkok. A group of Thailand Muslims, most of whom were students, engaged in demonstrations on Thursday in front of the Soviet Embassy in Bangkok to protest the occupation of Afghanistan. According to an ASSOCIATED PRESS report, the demonstrations issued communiques condemning Moscow, dropping a letter of protest into the mailbox of the Embassy. The demonstrators carried signs on which such slogans were written: Death to the Soviet Union and, Go home, Soviet Union. In the course of these demonstrations, dozens of policemen controlled this peaceful gathering.

The demonstrators announced that they will gather before the Soviet Embassy every year until the Soviet forces leave Afghanistan.

Washington

Demonstrations were held by the Afghan residents of Washington on the anniversary of the military occupation of Afghanistan, during which the demonstrators burned Soviet flags.

In these demonstrations, the participants demanded the official recognition of the Afghan Mujahidin as the legitimate representative of Afghanistan by the United Nations and other countries.

According to the ASSOCIATED PRESS, these demonstrations ended in one of the busiest streets of Washington, which is close to the White House and the Soviet Embassy. The police prevented the demonstrators from approaching the Soviet Embassy.

According to this report the demonstrators burned the Soviet flags shouting, God is great, Freedom for Afghanistan, Death to Chernenko, and Death to Babrak.

Paris

Yesterday, Paris witnessed the protest demonstrations of the Afghan Muslim residents against the military presence of the Red Army in Afghanistan and the puppet regime of Karmal.

According to the CENTRAL NEWS UNIT in Paris, sisters and brothers from other Islamic countries and a group of French people participated in the demonstrations of the Afghan Muslims.

The participants in the demonstrations carried signs and expressed their disdain for the Soviet presence in Afghanistan and the occupation of this Islamic country by the Red Army. After passing through several main streets in Paris and gathering in front of the Soviet Embassy where, with the reading of a resolution by one of the Afghan Muslims, once again they expressed their strong will to continue their struggle to fully expel the aggressors and attain the rights of the Muslim people of Afghanistan.

According to a report by the CENTRAL NEWS UNIT from Islamabad, despite this issue, speeches were given in most Afghan Mujahidin camps. In one of the camps in the city of Pishavar, one of the leaders of the Afghan Mujahidin said: We pride ourselves on Islam, and the Koran has defined our way. And in this Islamic holy war, we respond to guns with guns.

Message of the Union of Islamic Student Societies of Europe

According to IRNA from London, the Union of Islamic Student Societies of Europe issued a message in connection with the anniversary of the military occupation of Afghanistan, which states in part: At the onset of the sixth year of the invasion by the occupying Soviet army of the suffering Muslim nation, at a time of Muslim hopes for a rapid victory over global heathenism under the Prophet-like leadership of our revered Imam, we are witnessing increased atrocities and crimes by the Red Army in Afghanistan. We express our disdain and hatred for the Eastern criminals in Afghanistan as well as the Western criminals and declare our support for the rightful struggles of this enslaved nation.

Communique of the Common Market

Ten countries, members of the European Common Market, issued a communique yesterday demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan and a just solution to the problem of Afghan refugees.

According to a CENTRAL NEWS UNIT report, quoting the FRENCH NEWS AGENCY, in their communique, which was issued in Belgium, on the fifth anniversary of the occupation of Afghanistan, these countries condemned the Soviet Union and declared their readiness to mediate and achieve a just solution in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations.

The European Common Market, referring to a solution discussed by 119 countries in regards to the Afghanistan problem, demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan, the determination of that country's destiny by Afghans, and the return of millions of refugees to their homeland.

In their communique, the countries of the Common Market announced that the Soviet Union has not taken any steps to withdraw their forces from Afghanistan. These countries condemned the Soviet Union for violating human rights, bombing residential areas, and attacking the Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan.

10,000

CSO: 4640/266

AFGHANISTAN

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY CALLS FOR SOVIET WITHDRAWAL

Paris LE MONDE in French 29 Dec 84 p 3

[Text] On Thursday, 27 December, the 10 countries of the European Community issued a joint statement reasserting their condemnation of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and of the "illegal occupation by the USSR of a traditionally neutral and non-aligned country." They declared being ready to support any initiative on behalf of "a just and durable solution to the Afghan problem in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations." They further declared that this solution necessarily included "The immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops, the reestablishment of Afghanistan's independence and of its status as a non-aligned country, the right of the Afghan people to determine their own future without foreign interference and the possibility for millions of Afghans who had to flee their country, to return home in safety and honor."

The Ten regret that the USSR "did not contribute positively" to "a political settlement" in Afghanistan and they stress in particular that "no progress has been made toward the withdrawal of the occupation forces, a move which is a prerequisite for any solution." Furthermore, they condemn "the systematic violations of human rights [in Afghanistan] and, in particular, the repeated air raids carried out in civilian areas by the Soviet forces."

Taking a stand on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet troops, as had the United States, the FRG, Japan and France, Great Britain declared supporting the United Nations' "constant effort" to achieve an "acceptable international settlement" of the Afghan problem. Demanding the Soviet troops' withdrawal, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sir Geoffrey Howe, declared: "As of this date, the USSR has shown no desire to accept a withdrawal schedule. Prospects are not encouraging."

President Reagan declared in Washington on 27 December that the invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet troops 5 years ago was a "day of infamy" like Japan's 7 December 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor. He declared that "there was no excuse for what a great power like the USSR did to the Afghan people."

On Thursday, the Socialist Party and three trade-unions (CFDT [French Democratic Confederation of Labor], FEN [National Education Federation] and Labor Force), as well as the Afghanistan International Bureau, sent the Soviet authorities via the Soviet embassy a message demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from

Afghanistan. Its signatories "noted the dramatic impact on the Afghan people of 5 years of occupation and war; they demanded once again the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in accordance with the right of people to dispose of themselves and the United Nations' resolutions and in the interest of peace." The same organizations declared in a communiqué that they rejected "the vulgarization of the accomplished fact" and they reaffirmed their "support of the Afghan people and their resistance and the need to expand aid to the civilian populations the most cruelly affected by the war and also, currently, famine."

6857

CSO: 4619/19

AFGHANISTAN

SOVIETS' WAR ON RURAL ECONOMY MORE EFFECTIVE

Paris LE MONDE in French 29 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by Sayd Bahodine Majrouh, former dean of the Kabul School for the Humanities]

[Text] The Soviet invasion forces in Afghanistan are fighting on two fronts: one, purely military, against the armed resistance; the other, economic, against the population of a country which is 90 percent agricultural.

Prior to the cataclysm which occurred 5 years ago, an Afghan village was a self-sufficient, almost autonomous, entity. The economy was based on the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, cotton and, in some regions, rice as well as cattle raising. Depending upon the village, the spiritual leader was the "traditional" mullah who conducted the prayer service in the mosque five times a day and handled marriage contracts and burials or the maulavi (scholar) who specialized in Islamic theological and legal issues. He was in charge of education and, to that end, he ran a madrassa in the mosque and also served as gazi (judge) in conflicts which came strictly under the shariat or Islamic jurisdiction. As a rule, interpersonal and intercommunity conflicts came under the jirgah or traditional council.

Politically and socially, the most important people were the khan, malek and arbab, owners of middle-sized farms. Their authority was only based on standards accepted by all; they were respected and obeyed only as long as they acted as just and wise leaders. They were bound to extend ample hospitality and there are numerous cases of local chieftains who, to maintain their prestige, were ruined by this practice, having to sell their goods and properties.

Owing to their authority over the village and tribal community, local chieftains forced themselves upon the officials of both the central government and Kabul. In return, they were able to assume arbitrarily the leadership of their communities.

However, the small farmers' village community usually remained stronger than the central administration.

Many local chieftains did not grasp the nature of the change brought on by the pro-Soviet Marxist coup of April 1978. Used to palace revolutions, they knew

from experience how to switch camps and loyalty. Deluding themselves regarding the new Taraki-Amin regime, they consequently let events overtake them. Many of them have gone into exile since 1983. Those who joined the ranks of the resistance were unable to assume leadership. The maulavi and mullah on the other hand were the first to react against the new regime. The madrassa students and the population of their villages followed them.

In addition to the above-mentioned people, some regions also had a pir, a highly venerated spiritual leader of the Sufi brotherhood. Those holy men were among the [end of sentence garbled].

Many of them have chosen exile since 1983. Two new categories of people must be added to those who joined the village community: Teachers from the official schools and administrative employees of the local government. In most cases, they joined the resistance and there are many teachers in Mujahidin groups.

Failure of the Agrarian Reform

There were two kinds of properties in the Afghan village, i.e., communal and private. The only inhabitants who were not landowners and who lived at the expense of the community were the mulahs and the artisans. With the exception of these two categories, which have a particular status, each community member had his own plot of land, although these plots varied in size. This property proved that the individual was a full-fledged member of the community. Land and wife determined the position of honor, the two possessions which a man could not share with someone else. They were two facets of a man's identity, the third one, no less important, being membership in a community (clan or tribe). Deprived of these three requirements the Afghan man is depersonalized and reduced to nothing. Each time danger threatens to deprive him of his property, dishonor his wife and break up his community, a strong, instinctive defense mechanism is triggered ..

This mechanism came fully into play against the Soviet invader. Resistance developed in two stages: first, during the Taraki-Amin Marxist regime (1978-1979); then after the invasion proper 5 years ago.

The population had began to doubt the legitimacy of the new authorities from the very beginning. For the Afghans, legitimacy is based on dynastic rights, religious justification or the decisions of the Loya Jirgah (the great people's council). Prince Daoud's 1973 coup was viewed as one of the many palace revolutions which the country had known. His assumption of power remained within the realm of dynastic legitimacy. Furthermore, Daoud had consolidated his legitimacy by having himself elected by the Loya Jirgah. The same was not true of the perpetrators of the bloody April 1978 coup. Those people had no rights to invoke, no acceptable justification in the eyes of the people.

The party was attempting to control the lower classes of society and it had began to take a very close interest in the village community. Its activists were inciting the inhabitants to stand up against the religious leaders and the khan; for example, they were urging the artisans, whom they saw as "proletarians," to fight for rights that the latter had no intention of demanding. Compelled to attend official meetings where they had to applaud speeches that

made very little sense to them, the villagers were prevented from going about their daily farm chores or holding their usual village councils. Community autonomy was consequently seriously threatened.

The "agrarian reform," which Taraki and Amin hoped would help them win the population, had the reverse effect for three reasons. Firstly, large propaganda meetings were organized on the occasion of each land redistribution. It did not take long for the people to conclude that the programs thus presented were not to be taken seriously and that the spectacle thus provided was the regime's only concern.

Secondly, having set the maximum size of the plot that a peasant could own, the reform had failed to take into account the other essential factors on which agriculture depended, i.e., the irrigation system, the problem of seeds, fertilizers, cattle and also the long-established system of trading services among large-, middle- and small-sized property owners. Cut off from this context, the granting of a plot was, in the eyes of the population, an abstraction devoided of economic value.

Thirdly, the legality of the land transfer operation was suspected inasmuch as it had been carried out by a government which had been unable to establish its own legitimacy. The previous regime, whose legitimacy was not questioned, were very cautious about this matter. To be sure, they sometimes deported families from one province to the other and confiscated their land by declaring them state property. The family's descendants, however, reserved for themselves the right to reclaim their properties and they succeeded in getting them back. In 1978, the poor peasants, whom the new regime believed to be in favor of the land division, were the first to throw their new land-owning documents in the face of the members of the governing team entrusted with implementing the program and take up arms against the Kabul regime. In some regions, the people who had accepted documents and land for fear of reprisals told the depossessed owners that they would return their land back to them as soon as the situation was once again normal and that, until then, they would turn over to them part of the proceeds from their land. They kept their promise.

To Starve the Resistance

This system was totally disrupted beginning in 1980, after the Soviet invasion. The presence of the Red Army changed the resistance into a mass revolt. The administration, swept away from the countryside by the spontaneous movement early in 1980, was never able to regain the lost ground.

Already prior to this, the rural population had failed to support the Taraki-Amin government. Its members were recruited among army officers, university students and members of the administration, all of them belonging to the small urban bourgeoisie. The regime is currently only recruiting overpaid informers or buying corrupted "small chieftains" from certain clans and tribes.

The occupation forces are constantly formulating economic reform projects. War is what they do seriously and systematically. In addition, this war is first of all directed against the country's economy and the sector of that economy which is escaping them, namely, rural economy.

From the Soviets' viewpoint, the town can be reorganized, controlled and governed. All the trouble comes from the rural areas which they consider "reactionary" and "counterrevolutionary." They have therefore undertaken to cut off the town from the countryside. Trade is currently greatly disrupted. Products from rural areas rarely reach urban markets where there is often a shortage of basic food products. The price of these products has increased fivefold since 1978. People who do not work for the government have an increasingly difficult life. The average monthly salary of a civil servant is 3,000 afghanis, but a party-affiliated colleague with the same grade earns four times as much. Military personnel is paid even better. In this situation, the peasants suffer the greatest hardship. They can no longer go to town to sell their products and make their purchases; roads are cut off and civilian transportation is disrupted. In any case, they no longer have surpluses to sell and they have less and less money. Small bazaars have stopped operating in some regions. Today, a small merchant barely clears 25 percent of the turnover he had prior to 1980.

To Destroy the Infrastructure of Irrigation

During 1981-1982, for the purpose of starving the resistance, the government bought huge quantities of wheat in the northern region. By so doing it depleted the reserves of the rural areas. The resistance became aware of this: Many of the government agents who were carrying out this operation were captured and their money taken.

The rural areas lost their work force, the invasion having depopulated entire regions. Economic and social life simply stopped. Prosperous villages full of life 3 or 4 years ago have been abandoned and are devastated.

The deadliest operations are those aimed primarily and systematically at the infrastructure of the rural economy. Since 1982 the invader has followed a more and more clearly defined policy. Some of the operations carried out, in particular in the Ghazni, Logar, Wardak, Ningrahar, Zabul, Kandahar and Herat regions, are listed below:

A motorized unit invested a village, slaughtered the cattle, confiscated the food reserves and damaged the embankments of the terrace fields;

wheat reserves were burnt following surprise attacks during the harvest;

vegetation and villages located on the side of roads were completely destroyed.

There are even worse occurrences. The irrigation system, the essential core of agriculture in Afghanistan, was intentionally disrupted. Irrigation was done through two systems: The karez, or underground canal, built on the side of mountains and running for several kilometers before surfacing near the fields; and the djoui, or surface canal, diverging the water from torrents and rivers by means of small dams built by the villagers. Bombs thrown inside the karez disrupted the balance of this system. The water has stopped flowing in some of the karez and others carry only one fourth of their usual volume. The djoui seems to have suffered the most. The destroyed small dams and the canal beds full of mud and sand no longer allow the water to flow. Even without destruction,

the system needed annual and seasonal care which the community never neglected to do. In the present situation, there is not enough local hands available to carry out these repairs. Furthermore, military posts set up in sensitive areas prevent the inhabitants from proceeding with repairs and drainage. Thus, the Qandahar, one of the most fertile and better irrigated regions, suffers from a lack of water. Fruit and pomegranate trees, grapevines and century-old trees of the Qandahar Province are dying. It will take generations for the replanted grapevines and pomegranate trees to reach their level of production prior to 1978.

The Soviet invasion generated the largest number of refugees the world has ever counted; small farmers, artisans and shop keepers from rural areas make up most of the people living in Pakistani and Iranian camps. The country is being relentlessly destroyed, a destruction without precedent in its long history.

Yet, the rural population, without arms or defense, resists in its own way against the occupation forces and its resistance is much more worthy of admiration than that carried out by the armed groups.

The villagers' tendency to flee at the first sign of an air raid has reversed itself. Refugee camps in Pakistan have lost their appeal. People now want to stay home as long as living conditions do not become too unendurable. People say: "Better to die at home than to go vegetate in a refugee camp." They build and rebuild their destroyed homes and even use spare parts from armored cars, tanks and other wrecked military vehicles as building material; rotor blades from fallen helicopters have even been used as beams in the roof of some of the rebuilt houses. The comment for doing so is: "They are substantially stronger than wood."

Along the paths used by the resistance--and these are more numerous than the official roads--there are small bazaars and relays where travelers eat and rest and carriers conduct their business. In some areas (Hazarajat and Ishkamesh to the North), the new bazaars in the liberated regions are much more flourishing than the markets of Sovietized Central Asia. Each time these trading centers are destroyed, other shops and bazaars spring up from the ruins. These makeshift street stalls are cheap to rebuild. Thus, in its own way, the local population, actively helped by the local resistance, maintains an economic balance in the liberated regions.

The most important and encouraging feature, however, is that the peasant is holding on to his land despite the pressures applied by the invader and the constant danger from air raids. If a village is completely destroyed, the neighboring village does not budge; the inhabitants continue to work their land as though nothing happened. Eight out of 10 villages were destroyed in one of the Ghazni districts; the undamaged villages appeared to be carrying on normally and the inhabitants continued to farm their fields. In the upland region of the Kunar River, the villages of the main valley have been abandoned, but in the neighboring valleys, the farmers continue to sow and harvest. In the Pandjshir, where the lower valley region has been destroyed, agriculture continues in the Paryan region. There are regions of various sizes surviving in this manner throughout all of Afghanistan's provinces. The Red Army in Afghanistan is fighting people attached to their land. It is truly "the damned of the earth" who are fighting against the Soviet superpower.

6857

CSO: 4619/19

AFGHANISTAN

PROFESSOR MAJRUH ON INCREASED ORGANIZATION AMONG RESISTANCE

Paris LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN in French Dec 84-Jan 85 pp 4-5

[Interview with Professor Madjrouh, director of the Afghan Information Center (AIC); date and place not specified]

[Text] Abandoned Villages

[Question] Can you describe to us the military situation in Afghanistan at the end of the fifth year of the Soviet invasion?

[Answer] The situation this year has a somber aspect, involving the status of the civilian population, and a clear aspect, involving the position of the resistance. In effect the Soviets have intensified their attacks in the rural areas, with the result that the flow of refugees has increased by comparison with the same period of 1983. The new phenomenon is the arrival in Peshawar of a large number of refugees coming from the northern provinces (Badkhchan, Kunduz, and Panjshir). It is clear that the number of refugees who have fled into Pakistan is now more than 3 million.

The suffering of the civilian population is particularly severe in Herat. To the West of this city the whole area bordering on Pakistan [as published] has been totally emptied of people. A traveller tells us of having gone through a once prosperous village which is now a ghost town. However, he finally found two or three families which were trying to survive there. These people were spending the day in an underground shelter and only went out at night to work on their fields.

The other areas more particularly affected are the Ghazni region, where eight out of 10 villages have been destroyed; the area around Kabul (Deh Sabz and Chewaki, for example, have been totally destroyed); and the Panjshir Valley, where the lower half has been entirely devastated. Not to mention the Badakhchan and Takhar areas in the North, the area around Qandahar, and Jalalabad Province. Recent Soviet operations have caused considerable damage: Jegdalak has been wiped out, and Hessarak has suffered major destruction.

If at present you study the encouraging aspects, you might note that the Afghan resistance has dealt effective blows against the enemy. In particular, it is exercising unprecedented pressure on Kabul, including both the outlying areas as well as the center of the city. The Soviets have had to recall certain units deployed in the provinces to ensure the security of the Kabul authorities. We are

seeing progress made in the coordination of operations. Furthermore, the combat soldiers are using their weapons with greater efficiency. To some degree the resistance has become more professional. This is particularly the case in areas where a major commander has established himself and is capable of maintaining unity in the area around him.

[Question] Doesn't this process of "professionalization" threaten to cut the resistance off from the people?

[Answer] No, because in this specific respect the resistance has remained aware of its responsibilities toward the people. It is now trying to avoid annoying them and to defend them, whereas previously the resistance was only concerned with carrying on the war.

In Zabul, for example, Commander Qari Taj Mohammad has organized a system of pensions for the families of dead resistance fighters.

Summary Justice

[Question] What happens to prisoners of war?

[Answer] In the AIC bulletin containing eyewitness testimony I published not only material on the Kabul prisons but also on provincial prisons (in Ghazni, Qandahar, and Jalalabad). For example, we have interviewed Sarbeland (see elsewhere in this issue; this is not his name.).

He is a remarkable man, a very, very courageous teacher. He has just left to return to Kabul, where he leads a clandestine life.

From all of this testimony it is evident that:

(1) Regarding the mojahedin who are captured with weapons in their hands, in general they are executed immediately. However, group leaders are imprisoned and interrogated with a view to using them for propaganda purposes. Those who crack under interrogation are kept in prison. They are shown on television programs. The others, who resist to the very end, are executed without even being put on trial.

(2) Those who are engaged in unarmed propaganda activities--for example trying to form a group of mojahedin, preparing leaflets, or providing information to the resistance--have a harder time of it. They are tortured for 1 or 2 months. Then they are put in the Pol-e Charkhi prison. At the end of 6 months they are brought before a Revolutionary Court, where they are informed of the principal charges against them. Each prisoner must defend himself, but no attention is paid to them, and they are not even allowed to finish their defense. Watching the proceedings in place of the public is a group of police and intelligence agents. The court session does not last longer than 1 hour, and the verdict is handed down--it is always very severe. Someone who is simply accused of having been found in possession of a leaflet gets 5 years in prison. Even recently, there have been arrests of professors and students at the University.

[Question] How is the resistance doing from the political point of view?

[Answer] Inside Afghanistan it is not ideological problems which are dominant but rather economic and military questions. Political alliances are made on the basis of local or tribal considerations. The commanders in the interior of the country pay no attention to the alliances made in Peshawar and enter into other arrangements.

Outside the country there is always a line of demarcation between traditionalist Islamic groups, on the one hand, and revolutionary Islamic groups, on the other. Of course, there are important differences within each of these tendencies.

However, the essential fact is not what happens outside of Afghanistan but rather the existence of the major commanders in the interior of the country, such as Qari Taj Mohammad, Haji Mohammad Shah (in Farah Province), or Mas'ud in the Panjshir Valley. However, it should be emphasized that, although the Panjshir Valley is an important front, very well led by a remarkable commander, there are other, very good commanders in other provinces.

The Parcham Faction Is More Obedient

[Question] And within the Kabul government, has there been an improvement in relations between the various factions?

[Answer] No. On the contrary the split between the Khalq and the Parcham factions is even deeper. These two factions sabotage each other and carry on acts of terrorism within each group. In what is left of the Afghan army the split between Khalqi and Parchami is a wound which has become infected. As the Soviets let the Parchami hold high positions in the army, there is a reaction on the part of the Khalqi. The Soviets maintain a certain balance, because, on the one hand, they have to take the more numerous Khalqi into account. However, they have no confidence in them, whereas they believe that the Parchami are more obedient.

I should add that, in fact, there are true patriots known to the resistance, even within the ranks of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). These patriots are very useful to the resistance. These are the officers who help young recruits to flee to the countryside, who help the resistance with information, who arrange to have munitions sent to the resistance, or who arrange operations which are botched. Some pilots, for example, have been arrested because they always missed their targets with their bombs!

All of that has led the Soviets not to count on the Afghan army at all. They assign it to isolated posts and only entrust small operations to it.

[Question] In your view will the Afghanistan War have repercussions in the southern provinces of the USSR?

[Answer] Yes. According to students who have returned from the USSR, discontent is more widespread in the southern than in other provinces. The people don't like the war. Commanders of the Jam'iat-e Islam say they have received messages from Soviet Central Asia, telling them in substance: "Hold on at all cost. Don't be discouraged. If the Russians succeed in occupying Afghanistan, all prospects for

the liberation of Central Asia would disappear." In the Muslim provinces of the USSR people like to receive two things from the Afghan mojaheddin: copies of the Koran and cards showing affiliation with the political parties of the resistance. The resistance has sent thousands of membership cards to supporters in Central Asia.

Some people say that time is working for the USSR. In fact, if the resistance continues, we may ask ourselves if the repercussions in Central Asia will not grow steadily. Slowly, ideas are making their way in the minds of the people of Central Asia, and disturbances could take place.

It is for that reason that the USSR is trying to finish the war as soon as possible so that people won't talk about it any more.

Teachers Have Resumed Teaching

[Question] You are also participating in a project aimed at reopening the schools in the liberated areas. Have you found a favorable response to this effort?

[Answer] At first we did not think that the resistance fighters would be interested in starting up a modern education system again. We have been agreeably surprised because some of the commanders immediately accepted our program to open up a program of elementary education, and we have received many requests for such schools. Within the resistance there are teachers who only ask to be given a chance to return to teaching. One of the conditions which we have made for the financing of an educational project is specifically that the commander who asks for such a school should give us a responsible teacher. Up to now we have received aid for the printing of books. We still need to find aid for the salaries of teachers (about 300 French francs per month) and for the transportation of school equipment and supplies.

(Editor's Note: AFRANE has just agreed to take charge of several schools under this program and has just released an initial allocation of 20,000 French francs. Specific contributions for this effort will be welcome.)

[Question] What does the Afghan resistance expect from the French people and from their government?

[Answer] Regarding the French people, they should know that the support of public opinion is a very important pressure factor on the Soviets. In effect, the Soviets are more sensitive to French public opinion than in any other Western country.

French private organizations are the first to provide medical or other help. French journalists are more numerous in Afghanistan than those from other countries. The Afghans will never forget this. This movement of private French assistance should be expanded further and should obtain access to more substantial financial means.

The Abouchar affair should not leave a mistaken impression. His expedition was poorly prepared. In reality, the risks of a mission to Afghanistan have not been increased or reduced by this affair. It is always possible to find a good or a

bad commander. There are roads which at times are closed and then are reopened. However, there is still the same possibility of moving around freely in Afghanistan. The trip by Alain Guillo to Mazar-e Sharif showed this in a striking way. You can return to Afghanistan openly.

We are very sensitive to the firm position of the French Government and of President Mitterrand. We hope that this firmness will be maintained and that the French Government will not forget Afghanistan in the handling of its international relations. It is essential that the Russians know that the French Government will never swallow the occupation of Afghanistan.

5170

CSO: 4619/22

AFGHANISTAN

ARTICLE EXAMINES FAILURE OF SOCIALIST EXPANSION

Paris LE MONDE in French 30-31 Dec 84 p 2

[Article by Pierre Metge, author of "L'URSS en Afghanistan, de la coopération à l'occupation 1947-1984". [The USSR in Afghanistan, From Cooperation to Occupation 1947-1984", CAHIERS D'ETUDES STRATEGIQUES No 7, from CIRPES]

[Text] Monday 24 December 1979: several thousand Soviet parachutists were put down on the principal Afghan airports. Officially, it was a simple "reorganization", at the most a slight strengthening of the USSR's "contribution" to the fight against the "rebels" who for more than a year had been fighting and threatening the regime that had been born of the coup d'etat of 27 April 1978. The real objective was to take control of the airports in order to carry through to a successful conclusion the first phase of a much more extensive operation, the Red Army's massive intervention in Afghanistan.

Three days later a veritable airlift unloaded over Kabul in 5 hours, aboard almost 400 transport planes (Antonov 12 and 22 and Ilyuchin 76), three airborne divisions--20,000 men with all their equipment. At the same time, from Marv and from Douchanbe, enormous convoys crossed the border. Four mechanized infantry divisions, or about 45,000 soldiers, made a rush at Herat and Mazar-e Sharif. The sealing off of the country, with the occupation of the vital centers, the second phase of the operation, was thus under way.

The third phase was to be extremely short. On that same 27 December, toward 1900, parachutists, reinforced by members of the "special forces", the spetsnaz, took possession of the main public buildings in the capital and marched on the Dar-ol-Aman Palace, the residence of the head of state, Hafizollah Amin. It all went very fast. At 2120, Radio Tajikistan was able to broadcast from Douchanbe the news that Amin had been eliminated. Babrak Karmal spoke to the Afghan populace, announcing the end of the "savage butchers, imposters and killers". Was he already in Kabul? Afterwards he would claim that he was. Karmal had long been the Soviets' man. A former deputy from Kabul who was close to Prince Daud (prime minister from 1953 to 1963 and then president of the Republic from 1973 to 1978), he was a man from the upper middle class who advocated revolution. On 29 December, he formed his government.

During this time, the Soviet mechanized infantry continued its advance, besieged the country's principal cities and took control of the major communication lines. Troops continued to pour in. Toward mid-January, two new divisions

came to be added to the seven already in place, while the infantrymen replaced the parachutists. At that point the Soviet contingent reached 90,000 men.

Despite extremely strong international reactions (an embargo on agrofood products and high-technology equipment, a boycott of the Summer Olympic Games in Moscow), the Soviets gave no convincing justification for their intervention.

All they were doing, they said, was answering a "call for aid" sent out in early December by the Afghan authorities, in complete conformity with the "friendship and cooperation treaty" that had been signed by the two countries a year before. If they were to be believed, Amin had brought in people who were going to liquidate him! Among the Afghan leaders, those who at that time may have desired a Soviet action were either in exile or in prison. Moreover, any meeting between those communists and Amin's partisans would immediately have been transformed into a pitched battle.

Two "Missionaries"

It is clear that the Soviet decision to intervene did not date from the first days of December. Since the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) came to power, there have been many exchanges of missions between Moscow and Kabul. Nevertheless, the arrival of two important people received attention. The first, in April 1979, was Gen Alexei Epichev, the president of the Red Army's political directorate: Iran had just seen the collapse of the imperial regime (11 February) and the uprising in the city and garrison of Herat (on 4 March) could not have been put down without the help of the Soviet air force. In August the commander-in-chief of the ground forces, Gen Ivan Pavlovski, arrived. It was upon his return to Moscow that the decision was made to intervene.

Epichev and Pavlovski played an important role in 1968 in the preparation for and execution of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Treaty troops. They came to evaluate the Afghan situation. Pavlovski was there when Amin eliminated Taraki and took his place at the head of the party and the government (in September 1979). Taraki, who was uninspiring and indecisive, was respected by the opposing clans within the PDPA. Very soon the ambitious Amin, who was a good organizer and completely unscrupulous, removed Karmal. He became the strong man of the party and the regime. But the Soviets did not trust him. Not without reason, it seems, because he scarcely appreciated the close supervision with which they burdened Afghan policy. They decided to get rid of him and restore the weak Taraki to the fulness of his powers. Amin then took the initiative and liquidated Taraki.

A "False Consensus" in Moscow

The regime was not only undermined from within. It was exposed to an uprising that it had more and more trouble containing. Local insurrections broke out as early as the summer of 1978 and, after some months, won over the whole country. Of course, the opposition remained geographically and ethnically divided. But, at this stage, it found that state of affairs advantageous and little by little it penetrated the government departments and the army itself. Was Amin capable of recapturing the power that had escaped him? Even as he was launching very

fierce expeditions against the most active centers of the uprising, he was attempting bold political overtures. He established contact with the Pakistani government, approached the most radical Islamic opposition (the Hezb-e Eslami) and made advances to the Americans. But his fate was already sealed.

In late October and early November, the Americans noticed some unusual activity at airports close to Afghanistan. Toward the end of November, infantry divisions stationed in Turkmenistan were supplemented by mobilizing reserves. On 8 and 9 December, parachutist units were dispatched to Bagram, near Kabul. The Americans then protested to the Soviets, demanding explanations that they would not receive until 27 December.

Little is known about how Moscow decided to intervene. Some believed it could be said that the army was for it and the KGB against it. Others asserted that the Soviet leaders had no idea of what a difficult adventure they were committing themselves to. It is not unlikely that a false consensus in favor of the intervention was established between the optimists unaware of its real risks and the realists who were fully aware that it was not a little walk they were taking for their health.

What is certain is that the military force was reorganized after the intervention. But the reorganization was decided upon very quickly. The heaviest tanks were withdrawn toward the end of May; Leonid Brezhnev allowed that movement to take place in order to reduce the size of the Soviet contingent, when he met with Giscard d'Estaing on 19 May in Warsaw. The heavy tanks would in fact be replaced by vehicles that were lighter and easier to handle. But in addition to an adaptation of materiel, a revision of the method of conducting the war had to be implemented, to face a resistance that would not give in.

The principles of such a revision were formulated during the summer by Gen Tret'yak, who commanded the Far Eastern military district. Their enforcement was entrusted in late December to Gen Yazov, who had served under Tret'yak and had just been appointed head of the Central Asian district. Basically, these principles consisted of providing the lower-ranking and non-commissioned officers sufficient initiative capacity in executing antiguerrilla operations, so that they would be able to commit to them small relatively autonomous units, in coordinated missions. These units were to receive appropriate training, to be put in place gradually.

However, all of the contingent operating in Afghanistan did not have the same needs. For the major part of the 9 or 10 divisions operating at that time, a large part of their responsibility had to do with maintaining order, protecting the Afghan government's organs, controlling the vital economic zones and the large communication lines. Only the 201st mechanized infantry division was directly engaged in the antiguerrilla fighting. Little by little, the efficiency of that elite unit, which was better trained and better equipped, increased. It scored points against the resistance.

The leadership remained centralized, in the hands of a Special Supreme High Command led by Marshal Sokolov, then first vice minister of defense. Operational responsibility was given to Gen Sorokine, who was based in Bagram but was merely the "representative" of the Special Supreme High Command. This centralization should not be viewed only as the reflection of the hierarchical bureaucratic organization of the Soviet state and society; it also expresses the determination not to lose political control of the Afghan military operation.

The Soviets knew then that they would not win easily on the ground. Because the resistance, for its part, had improved its weaponry and fighting style. It was holding up remarkably well and even astonishing many military experts. Moscow therefore combined armed engagement with military and diplomatic maneuvers. It was the responsibility of the Afghan government, with the help of numerous Soviet advisers and agents, to divide the resistance, to distance it from the populace and to rally the populace. A seemingly impossible task, so greatly were Karmal and the PDPA discredited. Their efforts were not entirely in vain, but the game was far from won.

A Demonstration of "Solidarity"

At the diplomatic level, Moscow's immediate goal in saying it was ready to withdraw its troops was to put a stop to the aid given to the resistance by Iran and Pakistan and to have Karmal's government accepted by the international community. Despite the negotiations entered into under the aegis of the United Nations, the results obtained were meager, and hopes of rapidly improving them were rather illusory.

What is still not clear, then, is what prompted the Kremlin to commit itself to a long and demanding war and brave the heaviest disapproval of the countries of the Third World, including the members of the non-aligned movement. We say, first of all, that the principal stake was neither access to the "warm seas" nor stopping the Islamic breaking wave, even though both of those concerns, in the regional circumstances of 1979-1980, could not have been totally absent from the discussions that preceded the intervention. Assuredly more pressing was the necessity of restoring the authority of a friendly regime, of a brother party. If a country that opts for socialism at the very borders of the "fatherland of socialism" cannot count on its solidarity, what can be expected of it by those in the extreme south of Africa or in Latin America? Would the USSR have acted in the same way, anyhow, in 1980 in Angola or Ethiopia, if the regimes of those two countries, handed over to themselves, had been on the verge of collapsing? Nothing is less certain. One determining factor was certainly the fear that a lack of security would develop on the southern borders, and the potential for interference it would have offered Westerners, Americans in particular, was certainly a determining factor.

The USSR's intervention was a defensive one in more than just anticipation of a threat. It was also defensive as a response to the failure of its strategy of penetration into Afghanistan. The latter had devoted itself for 30 years to promoting the building of a strong state, the growing nationalization of the economy, the training of a class of leaders for state-related interests and the adoption by that class of Soviet ideology. Apparently victorious in 1978, that strategy was completely bankrupt 18 months later. Action by internal forces was not enough to impose socialism. The entry into the game of external forces turned out to be indispensable.

Five years later, the Soviet aggression looked less like a demonstration of power of an ascendant "imperialism" than the first serious failure of the expansion strategy of "socialism". Recent events in southern Africa and Central America have shown that the failure was not due solely to the characteristics of the Afghan society, and that the USSR is probably in no position to take on several Afghanistans.

AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

HEAVY CASUALTIES ON BOTH SIDES--In the course of the past year, more than 43,000 civilians have been martyred by the Soviet military occupying forces in Afghanistan. The number of battle casualties amounts to 110,000 persons, of which a number, about half, were seriously wounded or crippled for life. The war analysts in the AFGHAN PRESS NEWS AGENCY say that the air operations of the Soviet helicopter bombers and fighter jets as well as the ground operations with the artillery and armored units last year caused the martyrdom of 42,164 civilians, of which more than 80 percent were women and children. According to this report, most of these individuals were martyred because of a lack of medical help in the merciless Soviet military operations. In the course of this period, 22,612 civilians were arrested and more than half of them were forced to the barracks. According to this report, in the course of the past year, which is the fifth year of the occupation of Afghanistan by the Red Army, 5,945 Soviet soldiers and officers and 14,573 military personnel of the Babrak Karmal army have been killed and also more than 10,000 military personnel have been injured. According to this report, the number of martyrs of the Muslim Mujahidin during this period increased by 45 percent compared to the previous year. In the course of the heroic struggles of the Muslim Mujahidin, 1,672 of them were martyred and 2,572 were wounded. During this period, 334 Russian soldiers were captured by the Muslim Mujahidin, which is twice the number for last year. The resistance movement of the Afghan nation destroyed 57 airplanes and 48 enemy helicopters, including transport planes, last year. During this period, the Red Army and the army of Babrak Karmal lost 805 tanks and armored vehicles as well as 612 fuel transport vehicles and military trucks. [Text] [Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 29 Dec 84 p 28] 10,000

CSO: 4640/266

IRAN

KHAMENE'I URGES SHI'AS, SUNNIS TO UNITE IN GUARDING ISLAM

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 12 Dec 84 p 2

[Text] On the fifth day of unity week, the families of the Shi'ite and Sunni martyrs of the Provinces of Bakhtaran, Mazandaran, Khorasan, Sistan and Baluchestan, Kurdistan, and Bushehr and a number of Kurdish teachers and students met at noon on Monday with Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, the president.

According to IRNA, in this meeting, the president expressed his pleasure in meeting with the families of the martyrs, referred to the issue of martyrdom in the Sunni families, stressed the increased unity of Muslims, and said: Martyrdom is one of the great elements of unity in our nation. The enemy has not yet given up hopes of creating disunity among Muslims. If they were able to set Muslim brothers against one another, they would not hesitate for a moment.

The president added: Because they are harmed by the unity of Muslims, the enemy will not stop at anything, and given the proper opportunity, will try to create a new conspiracy. If Muslims preserve their unity in words on every issue, global oppression will certainly be defeated, as in the Arab-Zionist war, when we witnessed that in a brief period, when the Arabs united, the Zionist enemy was dealt a severe blow. Hence, it is natural for global oppression not to allow Muslims to unite.

He added: At the present time, large amounts of money are spent in the Islamic countries and functionary writers publish materials against other sects. We must see who is spending this money and who wishes the Muslims to be full of hatred. He said: It is they who wish disunity to rule at every juncture, and the present differences in the Islamic countries stem from such a phenomenon.

Mr Khamene'i said: You must be alert and informed, because the enemy is always trying to create discord and conspiracy. Our nation put up strong resistance and stood against all the global

conspiracies. If it had not been united, it would not have been able to become victorious over the United States.

Referring to unity week, he persuaded the Sunni brothers of the necessity of creating more unity. He considered this week a divine gift and said: It is God's work which brings hearts closer to one another. Our Kurdish brothers have offered most of the martyrs in Kurdistan to the revolution and today I believe that Shi'ites and Sunnis must protect Islam hand in hand. He enumerated the various patterns of global oppression to create conflict between Shi'ites and Sunnis and cautioned the young people and all the people, particularly the Kurdish clerics, to be more alert. He emphasized that at various junctures, the conspiracies of the enemy must be recognized and dealt with consciously. He said: It is you and we who must establish the foundations of kindness, because preserving coordination and creating unity among Muslims are among the most delicate of tasks.

He said: The smoke of this revolution has filled the eyes of the oppressors and its flames have extended everywhere. The enemy tried to prevent the pleasant breeze of the revolution by trying to enclose it, but it was unable to make the Islamic revolution seem to other Islamic countries, through unfounded rumors, as though it were a revolution by Zoroastrians. Today, fortunately, we witness that in the hearts of countries which are ruled through domineering, oppressive policies, the voice of the revolution has penetrated the hearts of the people and the conspiracies of the superpowers have been ineffective.

Visit of the President to the ETTELA'AT Establishment

On Monday morning, President Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i visited the various parts of ETTELA'AT, the head of the establishment and the heads of every division.

According to an IRNA report, in this visit, the first issue of ETTELA'AT was displayed to the president. Mr Khamene'i also visited the most modern computerized typesetting system, which is able to change Persian, Arabic, and Latin scripts from one to another at three times the speed of other existing systems in Iran. The president then attended a gathering of the employees and heads of various divisions of the ETTELA'AT establishment and spoke on the situation and role of the press in the country. In his speech, Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i said: For me, it is interesting to meet here with you brothers and sisters. Although on the surface, we are not acquainted, in reality we have had a long and constant relationship. This relationship stems from your interesting and laborious daily work with me and all Iranians who deal with ETTELA'AT. He added: I believe that your technical worker is also a press person, because the spirit of

work in the entire establishment is a cultural and journalistic spirit. Hence, we say, "Keep up the good work," as we value your cultural work, and ask you to continue to work even better.

In conclusion, pointing out that ETTELA'AT is the oldest and most experienced newspaper, Mr Khamene'i said: It is hoped that today also your newspaper will be the youngest in terms of strength and strongest in terms of richness and maturity, presenting the most eloquent and pleasant ideas to the people.

The Negligence and Weakness of Kuwait Resulted in a Delay in Solving the Hijacking Issue

The president described the organization of ETTELA'AT as admirable and said: I had not seen this large organization before. There are so many brothers working hard in various sections in order to offer a properly organized and desirable newspaper to the people.

He expressed his pleasure concerning the installation of the new systems which correct typographical errors in the newspaper and increase the speed of printing the newspaper and transmitting news to the people. In his visit to ETTELA'AT, Mr Khamene'i, the president and head of the Supreme Defense Council, responded to the questions of reporters concerning the ETTELA'AT establishment, the situation and role of the press in the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the recent hijacking incident and the leakage of chemical gases from a U.S. factory in India.

Concerning the influence and role of the press and mass media since the Islamic revolution in creating a sound relationship between the people and officials, he considered the press everywhere in the world a means for the intellectual growth of the public and added:

This is precisely the difference between the press and books.

Mr Khamene'i added: Therefore, we expect the press to change the people in terms of morality, ideas, human characteristics, and revolutionary perceptions and in all their endeavors and actions, the factor that is to perform such a miracle must be of a very high caliber.

Our press has changed a great deal and has progressed very much. But it must progress in the future as well. I believe that the officials of the national press, particularly those of the four morning and evening newspapers, must once again inform other employees and those who are in any way involved of this great mission.

Concerning the Kuwait airplane hijacking incident, which has overshadowed other news in the world the course of the past few days, and, despite the continuous efforts of the authorities of the Islamic Republic, for which a number of the leaders of global oppression have tried to blame Iran, the president said:

These efforts are so weak that in our opinion they do not warrant mentioning or a response. Naturally, we do not expect nobility on the part of the propaganda organization of the world, which is generally in the hands of a bunch of imperialists and global oppressors. We expect them to be ignoble. This great burden was placed on our shoulders and if it were not for the negligence of the authorities of Kuwait, we would have been able to end the incident three days earlier in the same way. Only their negligence in decision making and actions and their lack of cooperation delayed this problem for three days. Nevertheless, we did our own work and do not pay any attention to such statements.

The president called the tragedy of the leakage of gas from a U.S. factory in India as unfortunate and described this calamity as a souvenir of the United States for the people of India. He said: Of course, the thick volume of tragedies stemming from the bad policies of the United States is so large that this incident would take up no more than a few lines. But, in any case, the responsibility for this tragic incident rests with those who engage in such dangerous work in populated areas. Mentioning the use of chemical weapons against the innocent Muslim combatants by the regime of Iraq, the head of the Supreme Defense Council surmised that the global propaganda organizations, fearing that condemning this incident would imply the condemnation of the regime of Iraq, which they do not intend to do, are trying not to condemn the recent tragedy in India as much as it should be.

Visit of the Representatives of the Executive and Judicial Branches in the Supervisory Council of the Voice and Vision with the President

Hojjat ol-Eslams Do'agu and Hashemi, the representatives of the executive and judicial branches in the supervisory council of the Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic, in their meeting with Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, the president at noon Monday presented a report concerning the description of the duties of the Voice and Vision organization as well as the headquarter units and general issues concerning this organization.

In this meeting, emphasizing the necessity for variety and attractiveness in the programs of the Voice and Vision, the president said: We must make the people happy by preparing variety shows. Mr Khamene'i added: Much effort has been made

towards making the programs of the Voice and Vision Islamic and revolutionary. But in order to achieve this goal, more serious and expansive efforts are necessary. In another part of his statements, referring to the scientific and educational programs in the Voice and Vision organization, the president said: Present scientific programs in an artistic and attractive form to make them more attractive to the people. In presenting scientific issues to the people, try to have strong group participation in order for the scientific issues presented by the Voice and Vision to be acceptable and satisfactory to the audience. Mr Khamene'i also emphasized: The content and generality of all programs produced must be presented on the basis of principled regulations in a rich and acceptable form and content.

In conclusion, explaining the importance of the instructive role of the Voice and Vision, the president praised the activities of the Voice and Vision college and its educational programs in this regard.

10,000

CSO: 4640/276

IRAN

KHAMENE'I: OUR WELL-BEING DEPENDS ON HEALTHY PUBLICATIONS

Tehran BURS in Persian 12 Dec 84 p 8

[Text] President Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i visited the various parts of the ETTELA'AT establishment and became familiar with the work procedures and activities of various units and divisions of this establishment, including photography, touch ups, archives and computers. In every area, the necessary explanations were provided to the president by Hojjat ol-Eslam Do'a'i, the representative of the imam in the establishment; the supervisor of the establishment; and the heads of every division.

According to IRNA, in this visit, the first issue of ETTELA'AT was shown to the president. Mr Khamene'i also visited the most modern computerized typesetting system, which is able to change the texts of Persian, Arabic and Latin scripts from one to another and perform typesetting at a speed three times that of other existing systems in Iran. The president then attended a gathering of the employees and directors of various divisions of the ETTELA'AT establishment and spoke on the situation and role of the press in the country. Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i said: It is interesting for me to meet with you brothers and sisters. Although on the surface we were not acquainted, in reality we have had a long and constant relationship. This relationship exists through your daily hard and interesting work with me and all Iranians who deal with ETTELA'AT. He added: I believe that your technical worker is also a press person, because the spirit of work in the whole establishment is that of the press and is cultural. Hence, we tell you, "keep up the good work," as we value your cultural work and ask you to carry on this work even better. The president also said: What we expect of the press since the Islamic revolution is a miracle. The performance of this miracle is complex. If a good subject is typeset badly or is printed and paged badly and carelessly, undoubtedly what is desirable has not been accomplished. On the other hand, if the most artistic and beautiful prints and pages do not contain rich and strong subjects, it would be like an athlete with a good physique who has no mind. Therefore, both the body and the content must be interesting and instructive. He added: The

brother writers and those who create the content must note that what they do is the most essential of tasks. The president continued: Our revolution was the result of a change in the minds, thoughts and spirits of the people. Some things boiled up from within these human beings; they made their hands into fists and were guided until the revolution succeeded. But the issue has not ended yet. It is a continuous current. To continue the work, the same fists and strong wills are necessary. In connection with the role of the press in the society, Mr Khamene'i said: The well-being of this nation depends on a sound press. Also, acting badly and dishonestly would tilt this nation. Looking imperfect and seeing only part of the truth on the part of the press would not truly reflect the people's movement. The president also said: Anyone who wants to know about the situation of the people turns to the press and the press shows the direction of the people's movement.

In conclusion, pointing out that ETTELA'AT is the oldest and most experienced of the newspapers, Mr Khamene'i said: It is hoped that today as well, your newspaper is the youngest in terms of strength and the strongest in terms of richness and maturity, in order that you may present the most eloquent and interesting ideas to the people.

10,000
CSO: 4640/270

IRAN

MONTAZERI: INCREASE RESPONSIBILITIES OF 'REVOLUTIONARES'

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 15 Dec 84 p 2

[Text] The commander of the Guards Corps, accompanied by his deputy, the representative of the Imam in the Guards Corps, the director of operations, and the minister of the Guards Corps, met and spoke with Grand Ayatollah Montazeri on Thursday. In this meeting, after the presentation of a report concerning the situation on the fronts and the total preparedness of the Islamic combatants to defend Islam and the revolution, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri praised and thanked them, prayed for the victory of the brave combatants of Islam, and said: With the self-sacrifice of the people and the combatants on and behind the fronts, it is our duty to pay more attention to the problems, shortages and lack of coordination which are seen in certain cases and try, as much as possible, to make use of more valuable experience and stronger forces. Also, persons with ideas and opinions who have a better understanding of the fronts and war tactics must be employed. He also emphasized: This issue is not exclusive to the Guards Corps and the front. Essentially, it is necessary for all organizations and positions to give an opportunity and room to develop to all the strong, competent and sincere people who have been with the revolution for years and whose commitment to and compassion for the revolution have been proven in practice. Otherwise, opportunistic or weak persons pretending to be revolutionaries may take over essential affairs and, consequently, harm the revolution. He also emphasized that the individuals who have an opinion, plan or problem in regards to someone or something should have mutual respect for the authorities and avoid giving the enemy and the counterrevolutionaries the opportunity to get hold of a sensitive issue under these circumstances. The behavior and criticisms must be totally constructive, logical, rational and devoid of selfishness or a sense of revenge.

In conclusion, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri provided the necessary reminders concerning more attention by the authorities of the Guards Corps and mobilization to explaining to the personnel of

the Guards Corps and mobilization their weighty and dangerous duties on the fronts and in dealing with various issues, raising the level of combative and military training, as well as attending fully to the existing deficiencies on some of the fronts.

Also, in the course of the past two days, the Friday imams of Ilam, Razan of Hamadan, and Khorasgan, Messers Duzdüzani and Qorbani, representatives of Tehran and Astaneh-ye Ashrafiyyeh, as well as the Majlis representative of Khalkhal met with Grand Ayatollah Montazeri separately. In this meeting, 1 million rials from the people of Khorasgan were presented as aid to the fronts of the imposed war by the Friday imam of that city.

According to this report, on the occasion of the death of Ayatollah Fazel-Na'ini, one of the committed religious scholars of Iraq who was exiled from Iraq years ago, a memorial session was held by his children in the religious center of the Najafis, who reside in Qom, in which session a delegation from the office of Grand Ayatollah Montazeri participated.

10,000

CSO: 4640/270

IRAN

LATEST RESOLUTIONS BY SUPREME JUDICIAL COUNCIL ANNOUNCED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 29 Dec 84 p 3

[Text] The supreme judicial council held a session on Thursday morning under the chairmanship of Mr Musavi-Ardabili. First the Shar' magistrate and the revolution prosecutor of Khorasan attended the session, in which the judicial issues and organization of the province and the cities were discussed. Then, the minister of justice presented the prepared judicial bills to the council. Then, the letters and files received from the courts on guild-related affairs and the revolution courts were discussed by the vice chairman in the session, and decisions were made in each case.

In the conclusion of the session, Hojjat ol-Eslam Morteza Moqtada'i, a member of and spokesman for the Supreme Judicial Council, took part in a press, radio and television interview and explained to reporters the most important issues discussed last week by the Supreme Judicial Council.

He first referred to the recent meeting between the Imam and the members of the Supreme Judicial Council and said: Considering the support of the Imam, his emphasis on the independence of the judicial branch and non-interference by individuals in the affairs of the courts, the council determined to instruct all the courts to act more carefully and decisively and to observe more accurately the religious and legal standards in the Prosecutor's Offices and courts. Also, we request that the honorable religious scholars and clerics of the theological centers who are competent in Islamic law assist the Supreme Judicial Council in advancing the judicial goals and implementing an Islamic judicial system, considering the special attention and unlimited support of the Imam.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Moqtada'i then referred to a letter by a group of magistrates to the Supreme Judicial Council concerning the

preservation of the judicial ranks and positions and said: A magistrate is legally prohibited from engaging in non-judicial affairs. With attention to the reports from the chaste family of the Prophet and the decrees of the eminent Islamic leaders, the council considers the duty of the Islamic government to secure the magistrate in every respect in order for him to be able to engage in judicial work with peace of mind and self-reliance. Hence, a bill has been prepared in this regard and will be sent to the Majlis.

The spokesman for the Supreme Judicial Council then referred to the circular letter of the council to the penal courts concerning the precise implementation of Article 104 of the punishment law to prevent obscene tapes and films which are contrary to Islamic morality and public decency and said:

This law states:

The following persons will be sentenced to one month to one year of imprisonment.

1. Anyone who trades in, distributes, exhibits or displays to the public designs, pictures, printed matter, announcements, signs, films, movie tapes, or any other object which is offensive to public decency and morality.
2. Anyone who personally or through another person imports or exports the above objects or is in any manner in charge of or a middleman in the trade or any other transaction or makes money by renting them.
3. Anyone who publishes the above-mentioned objects in any manner or displays them in public.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Moqtada'i added: In addition to the punishment stated in the law, a judge may, in cases he finds appropriate and when there are no secondary considerations, confiscate the tapes or instruments of the crime and impose financial or physical penalty.

In regards to the leasing of empty houses and why this has not been legally and religiously approved by the Majlis and the Council of Guardians, he said: The courts may legally engage in leasing empty houses.

In the conclusion of the interview, the spokesman for the Supreme Judicial Council referred to the fact that land distributed by the previous Shar' magistrate of the City Hall does not need to be in partnerships and said: Partnership as regards the above-mentioned lands is not obligatory and the urban land organization may not force those who have received land into partnerships.

However, if in an area, according to regulations, the City Hall and the urban land organizations are faced with a shortage of land due to the large number of applicants and they make it obligatory, in accordance with those regulations, that land be in partnerships, those persons who do not want to enter partnerships may leave that area and change their land to an area in which such regulations do not exist and non-partnership units are distributed. The urban land organization is responsible to grant permission for the building of non-partnership units in those areas.

10,000

CSO: 4640/262

IRAN

OPPOSITION PAPER COMMENTS ON POWER STRUGGLE

London KEYHAN in Persian 10 Jan 85 p 16

[London KEYHAN weekly; publisher and founder Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] The battle for power that is going on behind the scenes among the ayatollahs in Tehran has had some amazing manifestations. For example, many observers believe that a number of recent explosions in Tehran and other cities are the work of the radical faction of the regime aimed at making the situation look more critical. This theory may or may not be correct. However, one thing is true, and that is that those who thirst for power in the republic have repeatedly shown their readiness to fall into any pit. For example, there is no doubt that the latest wave of arrests and nightly attacks against people's homes reflect the degree of concern of the radical groups over the emergence of a more moderate attitude within the regime.

Another matter which has become an issue in the power struggle is the issue of the fundamental laws of the previous regime such as laws for family protection, land reform, social insurance and a share for workers in company stock and special profits. The moderate group insists that such laws--and they don't officially mention them--should be respected for now. The so-called revolutionary and radical group, on the other hand, believes that the republic cannot use any "idolaterous laws" even for temporary purposes. Ayatollah [title as published] 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the Majlis speaker, in order to give a form to the partly hidden battle and to bring it into controllable shape, recently proposed the division of the Islamic Republican Party into two parties. However, the division of the Islamic Republican Party, which currently is the sole "legal" party, in itself cannot solve anything since this party is only a political decoration and has no power.

CSO: 4640/281

IRAN

OIL, OIL CAKE PRODUCTION INCREASED BY 65 PERCENT

Tehran BURS in Persian 13 Dec 84 p 3

[Text] With the efforts of the committed workers and employees of the cotton and oil cake factories company of Khorasan, since the beginning of its activities about a month ago, 723 bails of cotton, 200 tons of oil, and 800 tons of oil cakes have been produced, which in terms of cotton production shows an increase of more than 65 percent compared to a similar period last year.

In an interview with IRNA, Sharifian, the general manager of the cotton and oil seed company of Khorasan, announced the above statement and said: With the efforts of the committed farmers of Khorasan, in the course of this year, 2,350 tons of unginced cotton, a 40 percent increase compared to last year, and 480 tons of cotton seeds, a 14 percent increase compared to last year, were delivered to these factories, resulting in the above-mentioned production. He then stated that in order to provide for the shortages of the raw material needed for this factory, with the approval of the headquarters for economic mobilization of the province, the central agricultural office and the supreme agricultural council, large amounts of unginced cotton and cotton seeds will be imported from the northern provinces, referred to the distribution procedures of the products of this factory and said:

The oil obtained will be put at the disposal of shortening factories on the basis of a voucher from the center supervising shortening industries, cotton at the disposal of textile factories on the basis of the report of the cotton expert and a voucher from the committee on cotton distribution, and oil cakes at the disposal of livestock keepers under the supervision of the pasture development fund, and the products of the factory will be offered to the consumer market throughout the province.

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CSO: 4640/275

IRAN

PRODUCTION OF CARDED COTTON INCREASED

Tehran BURS in Persian 13 Dec 84 p 3

[Text] Since the operation and production of unginced cotton in Gorgan and Gonbad area began to the end of the harvest of unginced cotton in Gorgan and Gonbad area, by the end of November of this year, 45,756 tons of carded cotton at an economic value of 12.4 billion rials has been produced in 33 active cotton carding factories of the area, which shows an increase of 10,000 tons compared to a similar period last year.

The head of the office of Gorgan and Gonbad cotton announced this statement in an interview with IRNA, explained the economic value of this production increase in setting the wheels of the textile industries of the country in motion through domestic raw material, and added: Since the beginning of the operations of this year, in order to procure the needed unginced cotton for 33 active factories in the area, 150,000 tons of unginced cotton at a value of 16.5 billion rials were purchased from the cotton planters of Gorgan and Gonbad and transported to this factory, of which 135,000 tons have thus far been carded.

Pointing out that nearly two-thirds of the weight of purchased unginced cotton consists of seeds, he said: In the course of the above-mentioned period, as a result of the purification of the unginced cotton purchased, about 100,000 tons of cotton seeds have also been produced by the cotton gins of the area. This product is being transported by the oil seed cultivation development company of Gorgan and Gonbad to the oil pressing factories.

Then, pointing out that the bailed cotton obtained is transported regularly to the spinning factories of the country, he said: If there are delays in the purchase of the carded cotton of the cotton gins by spinning factories, on the basis of contracts and regulations of the national committee on procurement and distribution of cotton, it will be purchased by the provincial, Melli and Sepah banks.

IRAN

LARGE POWER PLANT TO BE BUILT IN GILAN

Tehran BURS in Persian 12 Dec 84 p 3

[Text] To implement government policies in regards to providing electricity needed in the country, in the near future and with about 100 billion rials of funds, a large, 1,000-megawatt power plant will be built in Gilan.

Engineer Arastegan, the general manager of regional electricity for Gilan, announced the above statement in an interview with the reporter of IRNA and pointed out: At the moment, the preparation for the creation of the above-mentioned power plant, with the cooperation of the Ministry of Energy and Tavanir company, is being studied and, God willing, in the near future, the location of this power plant and the implementary preparations will begin. It is anticipated that this power plant, from 1992, in addition to providing 700 megawatts of electricity to be used in Gilan Province, will also serve the nationwide network.

In regards to the programs underway by this company, he said: This year, funds amounting to 150.9 million rials have been allocated for providing and distributing electricity in the villages of this province. He added: Since the beginning of this year, 40 villages throughout the province have been provided with electricity. In the course of the years since the victory of the magnificent Islamic revolution, this number has exceeded 6,200.

The general manager of Gilan regional electricity also said in regards to other activities of this company: In the course of this year, these rural stations of 63-to-20 kilovolt amperes have entered the circuit. The construction work on the 63-kilovolt stations of Lushan, (Katarom) of Ramsar, and Haviq of Hashtpar also continue.

Referring to the future electricity outreach programs in this province, he also pointed out. At the present time, a series of fundamental projects are being devised, which include a general and comprehensive project for electricity for Rasht and other

cities of this province in order to respond to the electricity outreach for the next 5-20 years. In this connection, 63-to-20-kilovolt stations are under construction in this area, which by late next year or early 1986 will become operational.

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CSO: 4640/275

IRAN

TILE PRODUCTION TO INCREASE BY 25 PERCENT

Tehran BURS in Persian 18 Dec 84 p 5

[Text] In the near future, by spending 80 million rials to install a filter press in Gilan tile factory, the production of this factory will increase by about 25 percent.

One of the officials of Gilan tile industries announced the above statement in an interview with IRNA and, explaining the production activities of this factory, added: In the course of the first 8 months of this year, with the efforts and perseverance of the workers of this production unit, 159,364 square meters of glazed tiles were produced and put on the market.

One of the officials of Gilan tile industries announced the above statement in an interview with IRNA and, explaining the production activities of this factory, he added: In the course of the first 8 months of this year, with the efforts and perseverance of the workers of this production unit, 159,368 square meters of glazed tiles were produced and put on the market [as published].

This official added: This factory, at the present time, with 170 personnel daily, produces more than 1,000 square meters of various kinds of glazed tiles for construction use. It is anticipated that the production level will exceed 276,000 square meters by the end of this year. In regards to the procurement of raw materials and building and repairing parts needed by this factory, he said: At the present time, blessed by the Islamic revolution, about 80 percent of the raw materials, particularly the glaze needed, are prepared and procured from inside our Islamic homeland. Meanwhile, about 50 percent of the spare parts for the machinery of this factory are built and operated domestically by the industrial workers of our country. In conclusion, this official announced that this factory, at present, provides about 8 percent of the needs of the country in regards to tile products and said: In the course of the past 8 months, this factory has sold 170,387,855 rials worth of its products on the market.

IRAN

MANPOWER, RAW MATERIAL SHORTAGE BURDENS FARS FACTORIES

Tehran BURS in Persian 12 Dec 84 p 5

[Text] The problems and shortages of large factories in Fars Province were thoroughly discussed in a four-hour meeting of the managers and directors of these factories with the governor general of Fars, his industrial deputy, and the director general of industries of the province, and solutions were sought for the shortages.

According to IRNA, in this session, the problems concerning the shortage of manpower and the necessity to attract competent individuals in the industries, problems concerning the procurement of raw materials and spare parts for machinery as well as investments and management were discussed and the governor general vowed to eliminate them. In this meeting, first the director general of industries of the province presented a report on the existing problems in the industries of the province. Then the governor general of Fars, referring to the progress made after the Islamic revolution in various areas, including economic affairs, said: The Islamic movement of our nation created a ray of hope in the hearts of the oppressed in the world and frightened global oppression.

He then considered efforts by the strongholds of industries to reach industrial independence the same as presence on the battle fronts of truth and said: Increased production in factories and efforts to reduce waste are no less important than the effects of the bullets in the hearts of the enemies of Islam. He then referred to unity week and the success achieved in creating close relations between the Sunnis and Shi'ites as a result of celebrating that week and said: Every smile of unity and brotherhood is like a harsh slap on the face of oppression. Our brothers in various factories who carry the heavy burden of responsibility for economic independence must try, through unity, coordination and the exchange of experience, to eliminate the problems, because lowering the quality of industries is a blow to the growing industry of the country. In conclusion, he asked the managers of the industrial and production units to speak of the

problems and offer solutions. He gave assurances that he would make efforts to eliminate the shortcomings. In this session, several managers and directors discussed with the authorities their common problems concerning the factories in the province. In the conclusion of the session, the governor general of Fars and the participants in the session toured various parts of Dana rubber manufacturing factory.

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CSO: 4640/274

IRAN

WHOLESALE PRICE INDEX OF GOODS ANNOUNCED

Tehran BURS in Persian 13 Dec 84 p 13

[Text] The index of the wholesale price of goods in Iran during the period 23 August-22 September 1984, at a figure of 366.9, dropped by 2.2 percent compared to the previous month. This index, compared to last year's figure for 23 August-22 September, showed an increase of 7.8 percent.

The index of the wholesale price of goods after the omission of seasonal fluctuations reached a level of 1.1 percent lower than the index figure for the period 23 July-22 August 1984.

In the course of the first six months of this year, the wholesale price index of goods in Iran increased at an average of 7.1 percent over a comparable period last year.

The drop in the wholesale price of goods index in this month was mostly due to the seasonal decrease in the price of fresh fruits. Also, the price of root and bush vegetables, dry goods, livestock, carpets, cotton, unginne cotton, and cotton and silk fabrics decreased, but the price of grains, legumes, dairy products, leaf vegetables, and some items of non-metal construction materials increased, which offset the decrease in the price of the above-mentioned items to some extent.

Major Categories of the Index

1. Produced and Consumed Goods in the Country

In this month, the country's producer and consumer price index, at a figure of 407.8, decreased by 2.8 percent.

The drop in the producer and consumer price index on the country's goods was mostly due to the seasonal decrease in the price of fresh fruits. In this group, the price of bush and root vegetables, dry goods, livestock, carpets, cotton, unginne cotton, and cotton and silk fabrics decreased, but the price of grains, legumes, dairy products, leaf vegetables and certain

items of non-metal construction materials increased. The index of the above-mentioned group after the omission of the seasonal fluctuations, showed a decrease of 1.5 percent over the previous month.

The producer and consumer index of the country's goods increased by 8.2 percent over a comparable month last year.

2. Imported Goods

In the month reported, the price index on imported goods did not change.

The index of this group, after the omission of the seasonal fluctuations, increased by 0.2 percent compared to the previous month.

The price index for imported goods shows an increase of 4.1 percent over a comparable month last year.

3. Exported Goods

The price index for exported goods compared to the previous month increased by 0.5 percent, due to the increase in the price of raisins and dates.

The index for the above-mentioned group, after the omission of seasonal fluctuations, shows a decrease of 1 percent compared to the previous month.

The index for the group of exported goods increased by 21.4 percent compared to a similar month last year.

The Main Categories of the Index

Foodstuff and Livestock

The seasonal decrease in the price of fresh fruits, amounting to 23.6 percent, was responsible for the greatest share in the 4 percent decrease in the price index for foodstuff and livestock during this month. In this group, the price of dried fruits decreased by 1.5 percent, root vegetables by 6.4 percent, bush vegetables by 8 percent, and livestock by 2.1 percent. But the price of grains and related products increased by 0.5 percent, legumes by 2.3 percent, dairy products and eggs by 0.5 percent, leaf vegetables by 16.7 percent, animal and vegetable oils, and spices, tea, coffee and cocoa each 0.2 percent.

The index for this group, after the elimination of the seasonal fluctuations, decreased by 1.6 percent.

The price index on foodstuff and livestock is 10.8 percent higher than the index figure of a comparable month last year.

Fabrics and Clothing

The decrease in cotton and silk fabrics at 1.7 percent, carpets at 0.5 percent, and thread at 0.3 percent resulted in a decrease in the index for fabrics and clothing of 0.7 percent. In this group, woolen fabrics increased by 1.3 percent and clothing by 0.2 percent.

The index for the fabrics and clothing group, after the omission of seasonal fluctuations, decreased by 1.6 percent compared to the previous month.

The index for the above-mentioned group shows an increase of 3.1 percent over a comparable month last year.

Exclusive Categories

Agricultural and Animal Husbandry Products

The price index for agricultural and animal husbandry products in this month dropped by 5.6 percent this month, due to the decrease in the price index of the farming group by 6.3 percent and animal husbandry and fishing by 1.3 percent.

The index for this group, after the omission of the seasonal fluctuations, decreased by 3.8 percent compared to the previous month.

The index for the category of agricultural and animal husbandry products was 14 percent higher than the index figure for a comparable month last year.

Construction Materials

In this month, the index for the construction materials category increased by 0.4 percent, due totally to the increase of non-metal construction materials, at 0.8 percent, because the price index for metal construction materials did not change. The index for the construction materials category, after the omission of seasonal fluctuations, increased by 1.3 percent compared to last month.

The index of this group increased by 11.6 percent over a comparable month last year.

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CSO: 4640/273

IRAN

BRIEFS

TOURISTIC REVENUE ANNOUNCED--In the course of last year, 586,460 persons entered Iran and 391,519 Iranians traveled abroad. The office of Iran and world tourism of the Ministry of Islamic Guidance announced: Of the total of 58,460 foreign nationals who traveled to the Islamic Republic of Iran during the period 21 March 1983-20 March 1984, 107,472 were tourists, which figure shows an increase of 57 percent over the previous year. The above-mentioned tourists traveled to Iran from Europe, South Asia, the Middle East, Oceania, East Asia, Africa, and North and Latin America. Pakistan, with 20,373 persons, holds first rank and India, with 7,724; Japan, with 7,549; Turkey, with 7,213; and West Germany, with 6,931, hold the next ranks respectively. Of the foreign tourists entering Iran, 70 percent crossed the air borders to Mehrabad, Shiraz, and Bandar 'Abbas; 26 percent crossed the land borders of Zahedan, Bazargan and Khorasan; and 4 percent crossed the sea borders. The currency revenues obtained from the entry of foreign tourists in the above-mentioned period is estimated at 2,802,399,000 rials. According to this report, during the 1983-84 period, 391,519 Iranians traveled abroad, which indicates an increase of 58 percent over the previous year. Of the above-mentioned travelers, 248,365 persons had regular passports, 130,204 had pilgrimage passports, 12,936 had diplomatic and service passports, and 13 persons had educational passports. Also, 97 percent of Iranians used airplanes, 2.6 percent personal cars and buses, and .3 percent used ships. [Text] [Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 2 Jan 85 p 3] 10,000

CSO: 4640/262

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